

NEW INDIA SPEAKS

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To
The Citizens
of
Free India

P R E F A C E

Lord Halifax is reported to have said that no one can understand modern India without reading Pandit Jawaharlal's *Autobiography*. We may add that no body can understand the present political upheaval in our country without a thorough study of Panditji's recent speeches. He is undoubtedly the greatest exponent of liberated India. He embodies in his person the hopes and aspirations of four hundred millions. For the convenience of those who, in India and abroad, want to know what New India stands for, I have collected Panditji's recent speeches in the following pages. These mighty words, prophetic in their warmth, depth and vision, need no commentary.

D R ROSE, 15 August, 1947

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INTRODUCTION

“The India of Geography, of History and Tradition, the India of our minds and hearts, cannot change ” With these spontaneous words Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru greeted the British Plan of quitting India, which envisaged a partition of this sub-continent, in the course of his broadcast to the nation on June 3, 1947, following the historic declaration of Lord Louis Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India These are not mere words or whimsical outbursts of idle thoughts of our Leader, the discoverer of New India—the real Free India of the future

The history of British rule in India during the last two centuries is a record of steady decline, so far as the Indian people are concerned Oppression of all possible varieties have been inflicted, and insidious efforts in the garb of progress have been made to crush all patriotic elements Nothing has been left undone to ruin India culturally, economically and politically But the brute force of Britain was never strong enough to destroy the nation's soul The Imperialist regime left no stone unturned to paint a black picture of India In order to give a plausible excuse for the continuance of their Imperialistic designs on the natural resources of this Sub-continent, the British ruling classes carried on their propaganda throughout the world that India was never a nation or a people as the West understood the term, but an admixture of several tribes, sects and hordes, ever quarrelling with each other until the British came to their rescue and brought peace and security to the warring millions To create this impression in the different parts of the world, the British spent millions of pounds And the success of

this propaganda was reflected in the queer idea of the peoples of the West that India was a land of snakes tigers dacoits and naked fakirs

It was left primarily to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to tear asunder the veil of these lies and misrepresentations and balf truths with such simple remarks as 'Under the British Raj India has been given the peace of the grave and the security of the cage' This was the Nehru way fully appreciated by foreigners By wit and humour and in the most telling way Nehru tore to pieces the anti Indian propaganda of Imperialistic Britain and opened the eyes of the nations of the West to the real state of affairs in India under British bondage

Our great leaders of the past and after them Mahatma Gandhi the greatest man of the age awakened the urge for freedom in the minds of the Indian people But the task of correctly interpreting India's fight for freedom to the world at large fell on the shoulders of Pandit Nehru It was a mission of love which Panditji undertook gladly and carried out most successfully Thus if Swami Vivekananda was India's first spiritual and Rabindranath her first cultural ambassador Pandit Jawaharlal should be regarded as India's first political ambassador to the world outside

What was the picture of India the real India that unfolded itself before the eyes of Nehru on his return from the foreign soil? Educated at Harrow and Cambridge Westernized in his manners and outlook Nehru the aristocrat, this great son of his eminent father Motilal the millionaire found his motherland naked starving ruthlessly crushed and utterly miserable Mentally disturbed and dismayed at the sight of so much misery in the land of his birth Nehru thought and finally decided to forswear the acquired veneer of Western culture From the

lap of the luxury of a millionaire's home he jumped into the troubled and turbulent sea of Indian politics and vowed to save the millions of his poverty-stricken and down-trodden countrymen from the British yoke as well as from internal social injustices

Nehru strove hard night and day, year after year, to evolve a way which would crown his mission with success, and he finally came to the conclusion that the way for the salvation of India's mass lay through Socialism. Thus was the aristocrat son of an aristocrat father transformed into the Socialist Jawaharlal—an unalterable proof of Nehru's love and sacrifice for his motherland

Henceforth the masses of India began to think, "Here is the Leader who will help us to break through the bondage of serfdom and give us food and clothing, health and happiness and help us to live like men—not beasts "

And, while capitalistic Europe and America were still debating on the ethical merits and demerits of Socialism, the new menace to capitalism according them, the toiling masses of India, under the able guidance of Jawaharlal, were irresistibly moving forward, resolved to make People's Raj a reality. Foreign interest in Indian affairs at once increased and India's struggle for freedom came to be recognised as a vital and integral part of the world struggle against tyranny and oppression. This is the signal service rendered to his motherland by Nehru, the intellectual, philosopher and statesman, whose glowing inspiration, broad vision and great wisdom, no less than his uncommon sacrifice and sufferings and unique leadership have painted the earth and sky vividly with a big question mark regarding British rule in India

British Imperialism kept this leader of New India behind the prison bars at least ten times during the last 25 years, in a vain attempt to strangle his ever-increasing

influence over the masses. Today Jawaharlal is the acclaimed idol of the nation and the dumb masses of India have given a concrete proof of their trust, gratitude and love by voting him four times to the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress—a unique honour exclusive for Nehru in the long history of the Congress.

Pandit Nehru reorganised and remodelled the Congress in his own way and committed it to the vow of full independence in the year 1929. In that year the Lahore Session of the Congress was an unprecedented success under the able guidance of its youngest President, Jawaharlal Nehru. His first Presidential address focussed world interest on the Indian political movement. Thrice more was Nehru elected President of the National Forum! A complete change in the Congress outlook was being brought about by the Socialist President, much to the dismay of the Rightist group which had long controlled the Congress policy. This transformation was recognised by the Karachi Congress of 1931 which adopted Pandit Nehru's Socialistic ideas and embodied these in the resolutions which laid special stress on the need for radical agrarian reforms and state control of the key industries. He established a new department—the Foreign Department of the All India Congress Committee and it was through his zeal and sagacity that a close relationship between the Indian National Congress and the progressive elements of all the countries of the world could be established for the first time. Thenceforth the movement for India's liberation began to be considered as a part of the world movement for the overthrow of the economic and political bondage imposed by Capitalism, Imperialism and vested interests.

The inclusion of Leftist members like Acharya Narendra Deo, Sri Achyut Patwardhan and Sri Jai Prakash

Narayan in the Congress Working Committee came as a surprise to many, but it emphasized the Socialistic trend of the Congress under the new President. Nehru started a Civil Liberties Campaign and organised the Civil Liberties Unions to check the Fascist tendencies of the Government as reflected in their attempts to curtail the Civil Liberties of the masses by enacting lawless laws and issuing repressive ordinances. It was also Pandit Nehru who worked out the plan of the mass contact movement of the Congress. Nehru recognised the value of scientific education, and the National Planning organisation for the economic and industrial uplift of the country is not the least important of his contributions to national progress.

Across the borders of India, the eyes of the far-seeing statesman saw the trend of events in China, Palestine, Abyssinia and Spain. His messages of sympathy for these countries fighting for their liberties against internal and foreign aggression were appreciated by each of them. To express India's concrete sympathy and to help the people of China against Japanese aggression, Nehru organised and sent a Medical Mission to China under Dr. Atal. In 1938 Nehru went to Spain, at a time when civil war was raging through the country and the people were fighting against the Fascist leader General Franco.

Nehru saw in Spain inhuman bombings and other atrocities personally and met many of the great Republican leaders. He became convinced that an unholy combination did exist between Fascism and Imperialism to crush the rightful interests and liberties of the common man. In 1939, he paid a visit to China, devastated by the undeclared war of Japan, and met there Chiang Kai Shek as well as many of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party.

It was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who first raised his voice against the autocratic rule of the Princes in the Indian States and exposed the fallacies in the medieval ideas about the relation between the rulers and the ruled. As the first President of the States Peoples Conference he condemned the Princely rule in unequivocal terms as being an ignominious offshoot of British Imperialism. He reiterated his strong determination to link the struggle of the States people with the wider struggle for India's emancipation. He advised the Princes to introduce responsible government and lately advocated a merger of small States in adjoining regions to form autonomous units of the Federation of a united Free India as a solution to the States problems.

With the declaration of war against Germany in 1939 a new situation was created. The British Government was still very adamant about the question of transfer of power to Indian hands. And in the face of the unwillingness on the part of Britain the Congress openly declared that it could not extend its co-operation to a Government which though supposedly fighting to root out Fascism was not prepared to recognise India's right to freedom.

The Congress Ministers in the different provinces resigned and the National Congress decided to launch individual Civil Disobedience. This gave Lord Linlithgow the 'Tory Viceroy' a chance to push up Mr Jinnah to the front of Indian politics. The Viceroy openly supported Mr Jinnah's efforts to put a spoke into the wheels of the constitutional progress of the country. In most of the provinces Governor's rule under Section 93 of the Government of India Act (1935) was promulgated and in some of the Congress provinces the Leaguers were allowed to creep into the ministerial *gadi* vacated by the Congress. All the national leaders including Pandit Nehru were arrested.

under orders from the Viceroy and kept confined without any trial

In the West the war situation was taking a serious turn for the Allies, causing great perturbation in the allied circle. With the declaration of war by Japan against America and Britain and her spectacular success in the Eastern arena, the British Government was forced to make a serious attempt to end the deadlock in India. In such a tense atmosphere, Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with an offer from the Tory Government of Britain. As a proof of Britain's good intentions, the so-called rebel leaders of India were released. Discussions started under the constantly vigilant eyes and ears of the pet followers of Mr Churchill. Pandit Jawaharlal took the most prominent part in these parleys. Sir Stafford laid his plans before the leaders and tried his utmost to find out some solution. But the Mission ended in a failure and Sir Stafford went back to England.

At that time it was clear that U. S. A. and China were convinced that the Indian problem should be solved to the satisfaction of the Indians. In an article on the Cripps Mission published in the *New York Nation* Louis Fischer wrote "Throughout the month of February, 1942, watching Japan's advance in the Far East, President Roosevelt had taken a lively interest in the Indian question, and when the British Cabinet finally decided to send the Cripps Mission to India the White House despatched to Churchill a proposal for the solution of the Indian problem. President Roosevelt followed every step of the Cripps negotiations and when this broke down on April 9, he tried to persuade Churchill to keep Cripps in India and resume the talks. But Cripps did not stay."

China's interest to see the Indian problem solved was so great that though the secret history of Marshal Chiang

Kai Shek's sudden visit to India and his conversations with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is not yet revealed to the public it can be safely presumed that the visit was in connection with the solving of the problem of Indian deadlock.

But inspite of such keen interest being taken by U S A and China, the two great partners of the Allies in their fight against Germany and Japan why did the Cripps Mission fail? The inner story of this failure has been partly revealed by Pandit Nehru in his *Discovery of India*. Lord Linlithgow and the Civil Service sabotaged the plan from behind the screen. The Viceroy and the European Civil Service could not tolerate the idea of India's defence being controlled by the Indians in any shape or form. Louis Fischer's observations in his above-mentioned article also support this view. He writes 'It is clear from the negotiations on the defence formula that the Indians wished to do more for the defence of their country than the British were ready to allow them to do

Instead they were told they could run the canteens print forms and conduct economic warfare. Such a position the Congress naturally could not accept and so Cripps had to bid good bye.

At that time Japan after capturing Burma practically without any struggle was knocking at the very gates of India. With the failure of the Cripps Mission all hopes of an amicable settlement were dashed to pieces and the Congress began to think along new lines.

The surrender of Singapore and the ignominious retreat of the British from Burma had opened the eyes of the Congress. The inability of the British to defend the Eastern outpost of the Empire combined with the hasty and ill planned preparations for a scorched earth policy on the eastern borders of India convinced the Congress High Command that in case of actual invasion of India by

Japan, the British would most probably, leave the shores of India with their 'bags and baggages', and a state of chaos and anarchy would prevail with the people left to defend themselves without any modern weapons or adequate arms and ammunitions against the ruthless Japanese invaders. In view of the impending disaster, the leaders thought it advisable, nay opportune, to wrest power from the unwilling British hands and to use it through the masses to defend the motherland against all aggressors.

Accordingly in August 1942, the A I C C resolved to start a mass struggle on strictly non-violent lines and passed the famous "Quit India" resolution. But on the day previous to the scheduled date, and before Mahatma Gandhi, the supreme head of Nationalist India, could make a last minute appeal to Lord Linlithgow, the supreme head of the Imperialistic organisation, for a change of policy and an amicable settlement, the latter let loose a reign of terror and the leaders of the Congress were again clapped into prison. This short-sighted and hasty policy of the Tory Government in stifling the voice of the leaders who alone could guide the masses through a most critical period, resulted in a spontaneous mass upheaval throughout the length and breadth of the country. The path of non-violence, so dear to Mahatma Gandhi, to which the Congress was committed, was forsaken by the enraged people, deprived so suddenly of the guidance of their leaders and provoked beyond measure by indiscriminate repression. During this critical period, covering the first part of the second World War, from the beginning till Japan's entry, the counsels of Jawaharlal and his reflections on the internal situation played a great part in influencing the policy of the Indian National Congress.

At the fag end of the war, Lord Linlithgow left the shores of this unhappy land of ours, leaving behind him

a black memory as one of the most outstanding despotic Viceroys India had the misfortune ever to see. He was followed by Lord Wavell a military Viceroy. Fresh hopes were roused about the settlement of the Indian problem by the new Viceroy. All these however were soon dashed to pieces and the only concrete result of the Viceroy's preliminary efforts was the release of the national leaders.

The indomitable spirit of Pandit Nehru had not been daunted by his long incarceration. He had closely followed the march of events and on his release he paid glowing tributes to the martyrs who had shed their blood for the country's cause in the great August Revolt of 1942. He condemned the British Government in no uncertain terms for having used Fascist methods of ruthless repression for the suppression of the spontaneous uprising of the masses and vehemently attacked the profiteers and black marketeers the two products of wartime conditions who had aggravated the man-made Bengal famine that had cost millions of innocent lives. These seditious speeches at any other time would have resulted in Jawaharlal being sent back to prison for an unspecified period.

The international situation had however changed considerably. Exigencies of the war particularly an urgent necessity of importing American and other allied soldiers into India for defending the Empire against the possible Japanese invasion had resulted in a lifting of the veil. The true state of affairs and the growing dissatisfaction in India against British misrule had leaked out in spite of the vigilance of British censorship and propaganda. Pressure from outside obliged the British Government to change their policy to a certain extent. Another attempt was made to end the Indian deadlock. But this also proved

to be a mere hoax like that of the previous 'gestures of honest intentions' of the Tory Government

On June 24, 1946, Lord Wavell convened a meeting of the Premiers and Ex-Premiers of the provinces. He invited representatives of the Congress, the League, the Sikhs and the 'Scheduled Caste' community. The Viceroy and the 24 Indian leaders sat round an oval table and deliberated in their efforts to arrive at a solution. The basis of the talk was the Congress-League parity as envisaged in the Desai-Liaquat pact, which had been formulated while the Congress leaders were still behind the prison bars. It was Mr Jinnah again who finally backed out, being afraid of a combination of the Congress and the other non-Leaguers in the administration. He increased his demands and, quite naturally, the Congress was unable to accept them. The conference ended in a failure and thus once again was Mr Jinnah allowed to veto the country's progress, a minority over-riding the just claims of the majority. These iniquitous claims were meekly accepted by the Viceroy, under the instructions of the Tory Government, and this was the real reason of the failure of the first Simla conference held at the initiative of Lord Wavell.

At this time the famous I N A trials had commenced and Pandit Nehru took up the cause of these 'soldiers of freedom'. He organised the defence council for these heroes of the Indian National Army, created by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to fight for the liberation of India. After a lapse of many years, Pandit Nehru again put on the robes of Counsel and took his seat with the late Bhulabhai Desai as one of the advocates for the defence. Through the numerous speeches delivered during this period, Nehru electrified his countrymen and helped to dispel much of the gloom of despondency that had settled

upon the people as a result of the failure of the August uprising. He roused public opinion and mobilised mass support for the release of the I.N.A. personnel.

Then came the general elections and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru started on his whirlwind election campaign on behalf of the Congress. He covered thousands of miles of the northern and the eastern parts of India, requisitioning every possible means of transport from aeroplanes to bullock carts and carried the flaming message of Freedom to the remotest corner of the country. This memorable tour will be remembered long as one of the outstanding achievements in the history of modern election campaign.

With the coming into power of the Labour Government in England a fresh attempt was made to end the Indian deadlock. A Parliamentary Delegation, without any Cabinet authority visited India in the winter of 1946-47, and talks with the Indian Leaders were again resumed. But the Delegation having no authority to make any commitments went back without achieving anything.

In a Parliamentary debate on India Mr. Attlee the Prime Minister announced the intention of the British Government to send a Mission to India having full Cabinet responsibility. He also declared that the minority would not be allowed to veto the progress of the majority. This foreshadowed a change in the policy of the British Government with regard to the unjustifiable demands of Mr. Jinnah.

The Mission consisted of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander with Lord Wavell the Viceroy as the fourth member.

Discussions with the leaders of all parties and groups were held by the Mission between the 1st April and the 17th April 1947. Negotiations with the Congress and the League commenced on the 24th April and continued till

the 2nd May Four representatives each of the Congress and the League took part in these discussions

The selection of two non-League Muslims as Congress representatives, seems to have offended Mr Jinnah, who vetoed all efforts at a compromise He claimed six provinces (including Assam, a Hindu majority province) for his Pakistan State The division of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan and a weak Centre with only three portfolios were the main conditions of Mr Jinnah for the participation of the League in the proposed Indian Federation The Tripartite Conference which had started on the 5th May could not arrive at any definite solution Thus in spite of Mr Attlee's declaration Mr Jinnah was once again allowed to veto the progress of the country

On the 16th May the Cabinet Mission announced their 'award' which, while rejecting Pakistan in theory, accepted the principle in effect by embodying the main points of Mr Jinnah's claims This was followed by the declarations of December 6, 1946, and February 20, 1947

The Congress decided to accept the Plan in its entirety, including the two explanations of December 6 and February 20th The Muslim League, which had accepted the plan, decided to reject the same after Congress acceptance The Congress, at the instance of Pandit Nehru, took up the responsibility of working out the plan and he became the Vice-President of the Interim Government and formed the Interim Cabinet keeping a few seats vacant for League The League, which had so far kept away, at last decided to join the Interim Government, but boycotted the Constituent Assembly The smooth working of the Cabinet Mission plan was impeded and the outlook appeared very gloomy The Great killing at Calcutta in connection with the Direct Action Day and

the unforgettable horrors of the Noakhali disaster were followed by the deplorable happenings at Bihar. Communal riots broke out in Bombay in the Punjab and the N.W.F. Provinces also as a result of the League's peaceful agitation.

At that time it appeared that India was drifting towards civil war and the British still in power looked on complacently on the plea of provincial autonomy. With the recall of Lord Wavell and the appointment of another military Viceroy Lord Mountbatten the prospects of a settlement appeared brighter. Talks with the Congress and the Muslim League were again resumed by Lord Mountbatten described by the British Prime Minister as the last Viceroy. A new basis for a settlement was formulated and before Lord Mountbatten flew to England for a short visit to put the new formula before the British Cabinet Pandit Nehru on behalf of the Congress and Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the League are believed to have assured the Viceroy of its acceptance by both the major parties if the formula received the approval of the British Government. The results of these negotiations are embodied in the simultaneous declaration by the Viceroy in India and H. M. G. in Parliament on June 3, 1947.

Though this plan falls far short of the national aspirations and is opposed to the Congress demand for a United India Pandit Nehru was able to obtain for it the sanction of Gandhiji and of the Congress. With full responsibility Pandit Nehru assured the Viceroy of the acceptance of the plan and he openly declared it at the A.I.C.C. meeting that partition was better than murder of innocent citizens.

The rapid progress of the country towards the cherished goal of freedom, a complete change in the Congress policy favouring Socialism and the rousing of

mass consciousness are all attributable to the influence of Pandit Jawaharlal inside and outside the Congress

It is not possible here to give full details of the achievement of this great popular leader. Many have dubbed him as a political visionary. But the deeds of Pandit Nehru since his entry into politics belie this uncharitable remark. Idealism blended with foresight, apparently utopian ideas translated into realism by quick decisions, rapid action and a matter-of-fact outlook, a proper valuation of all proposals in the light of international politics, are the attributes which have made Pandit Nehru a driving force in India's political arena. His attitude to life is wholly materialistic. Perhaps he is too outspoken and too hasty at times, caring very little for the consequences or even of his personal safety. But behind all his actions, if we care to probe beneath the surface, we will find the real cause of his impatience, which flares up at the first hint of opposition. The picture of abject misery, filth, dirt, disease, ignorance, vice and poverty which had unfolded before his eyes on his return home from the foreign soil after finishing his education, is still vivid in his memory. Nehru wants to end this quickly and in the shortest possible time. He has infused his fiery energy into his colleagues of the Congress High Command. His enthusiasm has infected the masses, who are looking forward to the New India, a free India, the cherished Socialistic State foreshadowed by the New Messiah.

Throughout India, wherever Nehru goes, in his own Province or elsewhere, in the big cities or the small hamlets, thousands of men, women and children flock together and patiently bear the hardships of a long wait, eagerly anxious to catch a mere glimpse of the idol of New India.

On a foreign soil, the same reception is accorded to Pandit Nehru when he addresses any public gathering. In

the reception accorded to him sometime ago at the Kingsway Hall London all the seats were sold out in such a short time that thousands had to go away disappointed. The spacious hall was packed to its utmost capacity every inch of space even the last inch on the windows was occupied. And when Pandit Nehru appeared on the dais, the historic hall of London resounded with such thunderous clapping that it seemed that the very rafters would come down.

This is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru whom all people at home and abroad are anxious to see and hear some out of curiosity and the rest out of love and reverence. This is Nehru the magician who has transformed the whole of India into a fighting force against British Imperialism. Nehru the mouthpiece through whom speaks the voice of New India. A bubbling volcano of revolutionary energy his fighting fervour knows no weakening inspite of so much suffering. His youthful energy shows not the slightest sign of diminishing and the burden of his age still sits lightly on his shoulders.

Mrs Pearl Buck one of Nehru's great admirers wrote of him some time ago. The mark of all his prison years is bitterly ingrained ON him but not IN him. He is without hate. From the far North to the Cape Comorin he has gone like some triumphant Caesar leaving a thrill of glory and a legend behind him. It is his will power that is driving him from crowd to crowd and making him whisper unto himself. I drew these tides of men into my hands and wrote my will across the heavens in stars. Whatever India's destiny may be Nehru's name will brim over his grave and dazzle epitaphs.

If Mahatma Gandhi is deemed to be the spiritual breath of this holy land Nehru is its body and brain.

And this was acknowledged by Mahatma Gandhi himself in his post-prayer remark a few days ago that Jawaharlal was the "uncrowned King" of the Indian people

Pandit Nehru is now in his hour of triumph, on the verge of achieving his cherished objective. Impediments are still there. Alliance strange and sinister are carrying on their subversive activities behind the scene, to wreck the boat on the very shores of freedom. The country is passing through a chaotic state of the transition period. Our concept of an independent, united India has received a setback. But all well-wishers of India and the Indian people hope that this is only a temporary phase. And in this period of confusion, it is more than ever necessary for all of us to know clearly and positively the directives and advice of this great leader, so that we can follow them unreservedly to fulfil our pledge to our motherland. The division of India cannot remain a permanent feature of our national life and let us all hope earnestly that with the withdrawal of the foreign power, the third party that had been pulling the strings, sanity will return to those rabid supporters of communalism who have stood in the way of their country's progress, and with an entire change in the perspective, a glorious picture of the "Light of Asia", United Independent India—the dream of Nehru and all true patriots, will usher in a new era in this atomic age.

India is now facing her own destiny and all the dreams of that "great patriot" Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will be fulfilled, said the famous British author, Compton Mackenzie. The fulfilment of this prophecy is possible only by sustained work on socialistic lines as envisaged by Panditji. There is no other way to achieve real unity or to undo the disfigurement of our motherland by the 'quitting' British.

Nehru's directives and advice are there for us to read and digest in his recent speeches delivered as the Chief of the Indian Interim Government. His plans and proposals for New India have been stated frankly and openly and his sincerity of which there was never any doubt has been proved by the various bills introduced and measures taken under his aegis by the Interim Government.

In the following pages Mother India liberated after centuries of slavery speaks through one of her greatest sons—*Pandit Nehru*



Pundit Nehru at his first Press Conference on assuming power

I

ON ASSUMING POWER

[On assuming the charge of the Interim Government of India on September 2, 1946, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru met the press correspondents of New Delhi on the same evening at an informal gathering and delivered the following speech. The other six members of the Interim Cabinet who were present at the Capital at that time also took part in the meeting and sat to the right and left of their Chief.]

Jai Hind! Friends, directed by the Congress Working Committee we have accepted office to-day in the Indian Interim Government and want your full co-operation. We enter on this enterprise in order to achieve our objective, *i.e.*, the complete and full independence of the country. We propose to function as a corporate whole, as a Cabinet discussing not only our own individual departmental affairs but discussing all important matters together and coming to joint decision with joint responsibility.

If we are co-operating with those whom we have opposed all along in Government, much more so inevitably do we seek the co-operation of every Indian in this country because after all the foreign elements in this country are temporary residents here or are temporarily in office. Inevitably they have to go, not physically—they are welcome to stay on in India—but in their official capacity, because obviously India is going to be run by Indians for the benefits of Indians, not to the injury of others, I hope anywhere, but certainly for the benefit primarily of the people who live in this country, to whatever religion or

creed they might belong in whatever provinces or part of India they may live

I hope that the practice of giving titles in India will cease. It has always seemed to me rather degrading to the individual to have these titles attached to his name unless of course they represent some kind of literary excellence or some professional qualification. That is a different thing but otherwise this business of titles is a relic of an age which I hope the world is rapidly leaving behind. So whether you call us Honourables or not the fact is that we shall consider ourselves chief servants of the Indian people and the moment we forget that we shall not be worthy of the job that has been given to us.

We shall keep our eyes and ears close to the soil of India to see not only how the people living in the big house in New Delhi feel about anything but how the villagers and factory workers see everything.

What are we aiming at?—Freedom?—Yes. Higher standards?—Yes. But we are ultimately aiming at feeding, clothing, housing, education and providing better sanitary and health conditions for four hundred millions. If you approach it in that concrete way the problem becomes a little more concrete even though it is vast. Then you can limit it if you like to what you can do in five years or ten years time and put definite objectives—we must produce food, clothing, provide so much education and housing etc. because we cannot achieve everything simply because there is a change in Government or simply because we desire it.

Naturally in the future we shall have to keep close contact with the press because we have to live in close contact with our people. We shall go to them as we have gone to them in the past and so much meet them face to face at public gatherings. Perhaps some of us

may not have quite so much time for that in future Nevertheless, we shall have to go to report to them because they are our masters and we are their servants though you might add some appellation like 'honourable' to our names

I do not know what effect a fairly lengthy residence in New Delhi might have upon us because it has been my experience that it has a very numbing effect on individuals, and results in a weakening of their intellectual faculties and certainly their physical faculties May be, we might be affected that way, but I hope not New Delhi as it has been constituted thus far is something unique in India and something entirely apart from India It does not represent India although it contains many eminent Indians

Many of my colleagues have not been able to come to Delhi to take charge of their respective port-folios partly owing to illness, partly owing to other reasons. The result has been, as far as I am concerned, rather odd Normally I have been charged with the External Affairs Department and the Commonwealth Relations Department—the two joined together But for the moment, may be for ten days or so, I am supposed to be in-charge of all the other departments of my absent colleagues, namely the port-folios of Defence, Finance—of which I know hardly anything at all and Commerce, Health, Education, Industries and Supply. A Queer collection! Today we started off in the Finance Member's room and for the space of ten or fifteen minutes I discussed high Finance, I went on to the Commonwealth Relations Department where we discussed Commonwealth Affairs

Later in the afternoon I, went to the External Affairs Department and spent an instructive hour there and then I finally wound up with the Defence Department and tried to understand the various branches of the war estab-

lishment in India. So I have had a varied education today and in the course of the next day or two I hope to tackle Health, Education, Commerce, Industries and Supplies. Obviously this is more for my own education than for anything else.

In the main my job is going to be External Affairs and Commonwealth Affairs. As I was just saying we propose to function very much as a cabinet responsible as a whole for everything that we do. The Practice so far here has been for various departments to function separately and reporting directly to the Viceroy and sometimes when conflict arose or some matters had to be considered together the matter was referred to the Viceroy's council but normally they were separate Departments.

Of course it is an odd situation and it has its difficult as well as humorous aspects when a group of persons representing a revolutionary tradition and dynamic organisation representing this for the permanent Opposition in India which often took to methods of combating the permanent Government of India come into close touch on a co-operative basis with static organisation which has not been known in the past to move so rapidly as to make its movement very perceptible to outside observers. Nevertheless we have entered into this business with every desire to further it co-operatively in order to achieve our objective—the complete and full independence of India. It will be a very great achievement in itself and also in the manner of doing it if we can do it peacefully and co-operatively. What will happen the future will show but it is because we believe in it that we have undertaken this task and we hope to proceed on those lines.

We require the co-operation of every Indian in the country. We are all going to remain here and even though we may get irritated with each other it is obvious

we have to live together and we have to work together and co-operate together. Therefore, it becomes incumbent on all of us to seek that wider co-operation and make every effort to achieve it because, after all, the problems before us are so vast and intricate, even apart from that major and primary problem of achieving Indian independence. The other problems—call them economic if you like—are allied problems, tremendous in their significance—how to raise the standard of living of four hundred millions countrymen. Therefore, it is from the point of view not only of the theoretical objective but the practical objective in terms of the millions of human beings in India that we have to look at these problems. How far it is possible to change this atmosphere of New Delhi and bring it more into line and more into touch with the real Indian atmosphere I do not know and it is up to all of us to try to do so.

Anyhow, whether New Delhi changes or not we have to think in terms larger than New Delhi, of the towns and the factories and the market places of India. If we are a popular Government we have to carry the people with us. We cannot function even for their good without the goodwill of the people. Therefore, it becomes essential for us to keep in touch with them through the press, personally and otherwise. It may be that we might have recourse to broadcasting. Certainly we will but unfortunately the radio is not sufficiently developed here. There are relatively very few listeners and the listeners are normally newspaper readers. Nevertheless we should take advantage of every avenue of approach to our people and sometimes, it may be to the wider public of the world.

IDEAL OF ONE WORLD

[Pandit Nehru broadcasting on September 7 1946 from the All India Radio New Delhi to the people of India for the first time as the Chief of Indian Interim Cabinet asked for co-operation of all in the fulfilment of great tasks ahead]

Friends and Comrades—Jai Hind! Six days ago my colleagues and I sat on the chairs of high office in the Government of India. A new Government came into being in this ancient land the Interim or Provisional Government we called it—the stepping stone to the full independence of India. Many thousands of messages of greeting and good wishes came to us from all parts of the world and from every nook and corner of India. And yet we asked for no celebration of this historic event and even restrained our people's enthusiasm. For we wanted them to realise that we were yet on the march and the goal had still to be reached. There were many difficulties and obstacles on the way and our journey's end might not be so near as people thought. Any weakness now any complacency would be fatal to our cause.

Our hearts were heavy also with the terrible tragedy of Calcutta and because of the insensate strife of brother against brother. The freedom we had envisaged and for which we had laboured through generations of toil and suffering was for all the people of India and not for one group or class or the followers of one religion. We aimed at a co-operative commonwealth in which all would be equal sharers in opportunity and in all things that give

meaning and value to life. Why then this strife—this fear and suspicion of each other?

I speak to you to-day not much of high policy of our programme for the future—that will have to wait a while—but to thank you for the love and affection which you have sent us in such abundant measure. That affection and spirit of co-operation are always welcome but they will be needed more than ever in the difficult days ahead of us. A friend sent the following message “May you weather every storm, first pilot of the ship of state, bon voyage” A cheering message but there are many storms ahead and our ship of state is old and battered and slow-moving and unsuited to this age of swift change. It will have to be scrapped and give place to another. But, however old the ship and however old the pilot, when there are so many millions of willing hearts and hands to help, we can brave the high seas and face the future with confidence.

That future is already taking shape and India, this old dear land of ours, is finding herself again through travail and suffering. She is youthful again with the bright eyes of adventure, and with faith in herself and the mission. For long years she had been narrowly confined and had lost herself in brooding. But now she looks out on the wide world and holds out her hands in friendship to the other peoples of the world even though that world may still be full of conflict and thought of war.

The Interim National Government is part of a larger scheme which includes the Constituent Assembly which will meet soon to give shape to the constitution of a free and independent India. It is because of this expectation of an early realisation of full independence that we have entered this Government, and we propose to function so as progressively to achieve that independence in

action both in our domestic affairs and our foreign relations. We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation. We hope to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and to co-operate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom.

We propose as far as possible to keep away from the power politics of groups aligned against one another which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war.

We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races. We repudiate utterly the Nazi doctrine of racialism wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practised.

We seek no domination over others and we claim no privileged position over other peoples. But we do claim equal and honourable treatment for our people wherever they may go and we cannot accept any discrimination against them.

The world in spite of its rivalries and hatreds and inner conflicts moves inevitably towards closer co-operation and the building up of a world commonwealth. It is for this one world that the free India will work a world in which there is the free co-operation of free peoples and no class or group exploits another.

In spite of our past history of conflict we hope that an independent India will have friendly and co-operative

relation with England and the countries of the British Commonwealth. But it is well to remember what is happening in one part of the Commonwealth to-day. In South Africa racialism is the state doctrine and our people are putting up a heroic struggle against the tyranny of racial minority. If the racial doctrine is going to be tolerated, it must inevitably lead to vast conflicts and world disaster.

We send our greetings to the people of the United States of America to whom destiny has given a major role in international affairs. We trust that this tremendous responsibility will be utilised for the furtherance of peace and human freedom everywhere. To that other great nation of the modern world, the Soviet Union which also carries a vast responsibility for shaping world events we send greetings. They are our neighbours in Asia and inevitably we shall have to undertake many common tasks and have much to do with each other.

We are of Asia and the peoples of Asia are nearer and closer to us than others. India is so situated that she is the pivot of western, southern and south-east Asia. In the past her culture flowed to all these countries. They came to her in many ways. Those contacts are being renewed and future is bound to see a closer union between India and South-East Asia on the one side, and Afghanistan, Iran and the Arab world on the west. To the furtherance of close association of free countries we must devote ourselves. India has followed with anxious interest the struggle of the Indonesian for freedom and to them we send our good wishes.

China, that mighty country, with a mighty past, our neighbour has been our friend through the ages and that friendship will endure and grow. We earnestly hope that her present troubles will end soon and a united and

democratic China will emerge playing a great part in the furtherance of world peace and progress

I have not said anything about our domestic policy nor at the stage do I wish to do so. But that policy will inevitably have to be governed by the principles by which we have stood all these years. We shall look to be the common and forgotten man in India and seek to bring him relief and raise his standard of living. We shall continue our fight against the curse of untouchability and other forms of enforced inequality and shall especially try to help those who are economically or otherwise backward. To-day millions lack food and clothing and houses and many are on the verge of starvation. To meet this immediate need is an urgent and difficult task and we hope other countries will help us by sending food grains.

An equally urgent and vital task for us is to conquer the spirit of discord that is abroad in India. Out of mutual conflict we shall never build the house of India's freedom of which we have dreamed so long. All of us in this land have to live and work together whatever political developments might take place. Hatred and violence will not alter this basic fact nor will they stop the changes that are taking place in India.

There has been much heated argument about Section and Groupings in the Constituent Assembly. We are perfectly prepared to and have accepted the position of sitting in Section which will consider the question of formation of groups. I should like to make it clear on behalf of my colleagues and myself that we do not look upon the Constituent Assembly as an arena for conflict or for the forcible imposition of one view point over another. That would not be the way to build up a contented and united India. We seek agreed and integrated solutions with the largest measure of goodwill behind them.

We shall go to the Constituent Assembly with the fixed determination of finding the common basis for agreement on all controversial issues. And so, in spite of all that has happened and the hard words that have been said, we have kept the path of co-operation open, and we invite even those who differ from us to enter the Constituent Assembly as equals and partners with us with no binding commitments. It may well be that when we meet and face common tasks our present difficulties will fade away.

India is on the move and the old order passes. Too long have we been passive spectators of events, the play-things of others. The initiative comes to our people now and we shall make the history of our choice. Let us all join in this mighty task and make of India, the pride of our heart, great among nations, foremost in the arts of peace and progress. The door is open and destiny beckons to all. There is no question of who wins and who loses, for we have to go forward and together as comrades and either all of us win or all go down together. But there is going to be no failure. We go forward to success, to independence and to the freedom and well-being of the four hundred millions of India. Jai Hind.

III

RESIGNATION OF PRESIDENTSHIP

[In the following inaugural address in the A I C C session held at New Delhi on September 23, 1946, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared his decision to resign the Congress Presidentship because of his joining the Interim Cabinet. The Working Committee and then the A I C C accepted his resignation with regret and requested him to continue till the election of a new President for the Moscovit Congress.]

Friends and Comrades I am relinquishing the Congress Presidentship. I feel ashamed to stand before the Committee and return the honour they bestowed on me. It is not because I have got something better but because I and my colleagues have accepted office which has given us some power to work for the nation though not complete power. The Working Committee accepted the Interim Government because I believe that was the desire of the A I C C. It is not possible to convene the A I C C every time the Working Committee has to take an important decision. Whatever the Working Committee has done would be placed before the A I C C for ratification.

In history of the Congress a new step has been taken which is a vital departure from the traditional policy of the Congress. They have taken charge of the major part of the Government of India. Of course complete independence yet remains to be achieved. The Congress organisation still remains a revolutionary organisation. It

struggled hard in the past for the freedom of India and hampered many movements. Some eight years ago the Congress decided to accept office in the province. After two and half years the Ministries went out of office. Now the Congress has decided on a step of equal importance, it not greater. Decisions have been taken to participate in the Constituent Assembly and to form an Interim Government. This big decision was obviously influenced by circumstances.

I do not know if it would be proper for members in the Interim Government to be members of the Working Committee as well. Indeed it is difficult for a person to discharge both responsibilities. I do not know what is there in store in the future. May be, there is conflict in store, the future is unpredictable. It is impossible for a person to hold office in the Interim Government and at the same time continue to be Congress President as well. Moreover it is possible that we shall have to wage another struggle for securing freedom and we shall have to be prepared for it. However, these are big questions which the A. I. C. C. should resolve. There is a resolution on the subject and it is for the House to decide whether to accept it or not.

Three weeks ago the Congress assumed office at the Centre. We entered the Secretariat to find a huge building with any number of rooms where thousands of people worked. It appeared to me that one might stay in that building for years and yet never know what was happening in the other corner. I am in charge of external affairs. India's contacts with foreign countries are growing fast even though she may not yet be completely free. The Interim Government have not yet announced its foreign and domestic policy, but of course that policy will be the policy of A. I. C. C.

The Congress has assumed the great responsibility in forming the Interim Government. We are there to construct a new edifice. And it is for the A. I. C. C. to help us in that task. The whole world is watching the Congress and India cannot live in isolation. What happens elsewhere in the world affects us. Similarly the world will be affected by our policy.

India will throw in her weight in the cause of peace. She will make her contribution to bring about peace. In doing so she will take an independent stand and not act as a satellite. India's foreign policy will affect the whole world. India should strive for the liberation of colonial countries. International problems are of course intricate and complex. From what are happening in the Paris Peace Conference or at U. N. O. it all looks like a

Chidmakhana. Just now however I am not in a position to correctly assess the state of affairs and India should avoid taking a wrong decision. All the facts are not before us. We however realise that the two powerful nations in the world, the United States and Russia, can make and unmake things. They can bring about lasting peace or disaster.

The communists in India opposed the fundamental policy of the Congress at a critical time in its history. This conflict should not be taken to indicate that India is against Russia, a Communist State. Whatever foreign policy the present Interim Government may formulate, it will be that of a free country. Our foreign policy will be for peace in the world. Accordingly in the international Councils our representatives will work as peace makers. We are for peace and not for war.

We should have a new Frontier policy. Problems in the tribal areas should be solved differently. The Congress has been all along urging revision of the policy with regard

to the tribal areas. The Congress is opposed to aerial bombing and has condemned it in the past. Now soon after our Government had taken charge we heard that there was bombing on the Frontier. The first information I got on the subject was from Badshah Khan from the timely public statement he issued. The question now remains as to what should be the Interim Government's policy especially with regard to tribal areas. The old policy was there in existence for over a century. Now that must be changed.

The tribal policy affects the whole of India. Our policy should be that we maintain brotherly and friendly relations with the tribal people. They are not foreigners but our own kith and kin. There is the question of Baluchistan where there is no responsible Government. It is a big problem which faces the Interim Government and something must be done immediately.

IV

INTERIM CABINET AND W C MEMBERS

[After a long debate Pandit Pant's resolution permitting members of the Interim Government to remain members of the Congress Working Committee was passed in the A I C C Session held at New Delhi by a large majority on September 24 1946 Before placing the resolution and amendments for vote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Congress President made some important observations on the debate]

Friends I have to make a few observations on the debate which I think have been of high order The five members of the Congress Working Committee who are in the Interim Government now would be ready to resign from either organisation at any time the House wished I and my four colleagues are in the Interim Government not for personal honour We are there at the command of Congressmen in fact if the choice was left to me and my four colleagues I am sure we would prefer membership of the Congress Working Committee to membership of the Interim Government Personally I would like to continue as President of the Congress rather than become a member of the Government But some times men are called upon to do things that give no personal pleasure but have to be undertaken as duty

Regarding Munshi Ahmed Dins (a member of the A I C C) contention that independence cannot be achieved without a revolution I may ask If we have not worked for revolution all these twenty five years then

what have we been doing? Have we been wasting time in a fruitless errand? Are we in the Interim Government because of the Viceroy's kindness? We are there by right and by our strength

Revolutionaries in other countries follow the method of breaking down the obstacles first and then rebuilding, whereas we in India under Mahatma Gandhi's guidance have succeeded in rebuilding simultaneously with breaking down obstacles. Revolutionaries in other countries, if they failed to break down the obstacles, broke down themselves in the attempt. That danger did not befall us because our movement is built on sounder foundations.

Congress occupied the present position owing to its strength and by strength I understand action, not speeches.

I do not know where I shall be after two months, will I be in the Secretariat or in the battle field? We have to remain alert at all times. Those who talk of revolution talk as if revolution is to come after a few years. I believe that the age of revolution is right here and now. Jai Hind

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

[The following speech outlining the foreign policy of the Interim Government of India was delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a Press Conference at New Delhi on September 26 1946]

In the sphere of foreign affairs India will follow an independent policy keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one against another. India will uphold the principle of freedom for dependent peoples and will oppose racial discrimination wherever it may occur. She will work with other peace loving nations for international co-operation and goodwill without exploitation of one nation by another.

It is necessary that with the attainment of her full international status India should establish contact with all the great nations of the world and that her relations with neighbouring countries in Asia should become still closer. Towards this end it is proposed to despatch a goodwill mission to the Middle East and to establish contact which will in the first instance be informal with countries of both Western and Eastern Europe. It is also proposed to station an Indian Consul at Bangkok and a Vice-Consul at Saigon in the near future.

So far as her near neighbours are concerned India will watch with close interest the development of events in Palestine, Iran, Indonesia, China, Siam and Indo-China as well as in the foreign possessions in India itself with every sympathy with the aspirations of the peoples of

these lands for the attainment of internal peace, freedom (where they lack it) and of their due place in the comity of nations

As regards foreign possessions in India I may draw your attention to the declaration by the Governor of French India that they would abide by the decision of the inhabitants of French India about the future. There will be no difficulty about French India as far as I can see.

There is at present a difficult problem about Portuguese India, which I regret to say, is in a deplorable condition at the present moment and for sometime past now. Obviously this state of affairs cannot continue long in Goa.

It is bad for Goa and bad for the people round Goa. But for the moment I am not aware of any Governmental action about to be taken. Because obviously although it is a small bit of India, it raises international issues. If an international issue comes in our way we will have to deal with it, but for the moment we have so many big problems to deal with, that an issue which might resolve by itself need not be raised by us as Government.

With the U S A and China, India already has a form of diplomatic contact. The relations thus already existing will, it is hoped, shortly be strengthened by exchange of representative on an independent diplomatic footing.

The first step necessary for India's separate representation abroad is the creation of an Indian Foreign Service to man diplomatic, consular and commercial posts in foreign countries as well as countries in the British Empire.

Plans have already been drawn up for creation of this service and for the recruitment and training of its members, and it is hoped that these will shortly be placed before

the cabinet for approval. The implementation of these plans must however take a little time because of the number and complexity of the practical issues involved. It is a relatively simple matter to recruit young men to a service train them and appoint them to junior posts from which they may gradually work their way up. But it is estimated that we shall require over 300 persons to man posts from the top-most grade down to the lowest while the number of Indian officials possessing the requisite experience is barely a sixth of that number. Recruitment will therefore have to be spread over persons in several different age groups and the experience and qualifications of each candidate will have to be taken into account not only in judging his suitability for the service but after selection in deciding what further training if any he should undergo.

The period of India's separate representation abroad must begin with the best material available and care will be taken to ensure that persons in all walks of life who possess the requisite qualifications are able to offer themselves for selection. The training of the older recruits will necessarily be brief because they will be required to take up appointment as soon as possible but it is intended that new recruits should receive instructions in such subjects as economics world history international affairs and foreign languages and to spend a part of their training period at a foreign university. Other matters of detail such as salaries and allowances, the syllabus of the entrance examination are still under consideration.

At present there are Indian diplomatic officials in the U.S.A. and China High Commissioners in Australia and South Africa (the last being at present in India) representatives in Burma Ceylon and Malaya and Trade Commissioners in several countries. With the creation of

the new service the existing posts will be strengthened and new ones opened

It will be necessary to work out a system of priorities, but obviously first consideration must be given to countries with which we already have contacts and to our neighbours in the East as well as in the West

Regarding the status of Foreign Diplomats it may be said that if we send an Ambassador to Washington or Nanking, they will also send an Ambassador to New Delhi. The Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs has informally indicated to the Government of India that the Australian Government would be happy to raise the status of the Australian High Commissioner to that of minister. Naturally that means that our representative in Australia will also become a minister.

The Government propose as soon as practicable to examine in consultation with all the interests concerned, the problem of the tribal areas of the North-West Frontier. The question is one of all-India importance, for the tribes are the guardians of the northern doorway to India and the security and well-being of these areas is therefore a definite factor in the defence of this country.

I should like to make it quite clear that in reviewing the problem there is no intention whatever of depriving the tribes of their existing freedom which they have defended so zealously and valiantly for many years, still less to impose any scheme on them against their will. It follows that the Government's approach to the problem will be essentially a friendly one seeking in co-operation and consultation with the tribes ways and means of solving their economic difficulties, promoting their welfare generally and bringing them into a happy and mutually beneficial association with their neighbours in the settled districts.

I believe that the North West Frontier Province Ministry did not know anything about the recent bombing *operating* till about the end of August. When I took charge on September 2 in effect largely the operations had more or less concluded. For the first three or four days till September 6 or so I did not hear anything about them.

When I heard of this bombing I was terribly worried because it was an urgent and vital matter but as that ended we got some leisure to think about it and we are thinking about it and I hope may be early next month to pay a short visit to these tribal areas myself to meet the people chiefly concerned i.e. the governor the tribal people the Frontier Province Government and then come back here and in consultation with others to lay down some general lines of policy which could be discussed by the Cabinet. We shall seek in this matter the services of Khan Abdul Caffar Khan and in fact I hope to have him with me.

The positive policy that we have got to pursue in the tribal areas will also depend on certain external factors like Afghanistan because naturally anything done in the Frontier affects Afghanistan. From this situation arises an international obligation. For our friends the Afghans look to us to preserve peace and order in the tribal areas in the interests of the tranquillity of their own country. They may rest assured that in seeking a new approach to the problem the fullest regard will be paid to our obligations.

The matter is very complicated. On the one hand the people of the frontier for various reasons economic or others sometimes indulge in raid kidnapping and kill people and this kind of thing cannot be tolerated. On the

other hand our approach to the question should be as friendly as possible but also as firm as possible

The fundamental thing is that we cannot possibly go on just in the way we had been going on. Behind all this probably was the economic background

If mineral resources are available in the tribal areas, I do not yet know whether they exist there—we may develop them. We may develop there hospitals, schools and the rest. I think that the spending of large amount of money as done in the past as some kind of bribe or hush money is not a good way of producing a right psychology in a people. That money, I would still like to go to these frontier areas as without it, there might be crisis, but I would like this to go in for constructive efforts which will raise their standard and give them new employment

In view of the comparative backwardness of political development in Baluchistan of forming as soon as practicable an Advisory council drawn from representative institutions and organisations in Baluchistan to assist the Agent to the Governor General. This will be a preliminary to the introduction of a fuller democratic system of administration

It is the intention of the Central Government to consult at every stage the wishes of the inhabitants of Baluchistan and not to ignore such indigenous institutions as the tribal jirgas. It may be necessary in view of local conditions and the wishes of the people there to modify the pattern of democratic institutions which may come into being in the rest of India

Towards the United Nations Organization India's attitude is that of wholehearted co-operation and unreserved adherence in both spirit and letter, of the Charter governing it. To that end India will participate

fully in its various activities and endeavour to play that role in its councils to which her geographical position population and contribution towards peaceful progress entitle her

In particular the Indian delegation will make it clear that India stands for the independence of all colonial and dependent peoples and their full right to self determination

The most important item on the agenda from India's point of view is the case against South Africa. It is understood that South Africa will contend that the matter is not within the jurisdiction of the general assembly as it is essentially one of domestic jurisdiction. With this contention the Government of India do not agree. In their view the treatment of Indians in South Africa is fundamentally a moral and human issue which in view of the purposes and principles so clearly stated in the charter of the United Nations the General Assembly cannot disregard.

A further important matter will be that of the new international trusteeship system. The Indian delegation will stress the point that sovereignty everywhere vests in the people of a country. If for any reason immediate independence is not feasible then India would not object to the territory being placed under United Nations trusteeship for a limited period.

The attitude of the delegation will be that all Asians and the people of dependent countries stand together for freedom and for emancipation from foreign control as this is the only way to bring about world peace and progress.

Another item of importance concerns the Union of South Africa's wish to absorb the mandated territory of South West Africa. This proposition India's delegation will oppose on a point of principle. The Government of

India consider that annexation of mandated territory would be fundamentally opposed to the conception of mandates and trusteeship and that sovereignty resides ultimately in the people of territory whose wishes and interests are paramount. The correct course, in their view would be for S W Africa to be placed first under trusteeship of the Trusteeship Council and General Assembly of the United Nations and then to consider its future.

Two items on the agenda have to do with the privilege of veto enjoyed by the five great powers in the Security Council or as those countries prefer to term it, the 'Rule of great power unanimity'. The attitude of the delegation towards this controversial issue will be that although on principle India cannot like such an essentially undemocratic provision in the Charter she attaches the greatest importance to the continuance of 'great power unanimity' and co-operation within the framework of the United Nations and would do nothing to prejudice that position.

Progress in the Peace Conference now in session in Paris to decide terms of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland has been regrettably but perhaps understandably slow. India's delegation has wherever possible followed an independent line of fair compromise and has supported those proposals which seemed to offer the solution most generally equitable. The delegation has throughout borne clearly in mind the humanitarian aspect of each problem confronting the conference.

For two reasons India has refrained from presenting a formal claim for reparations from Italy. First, because she has no wish to reduce the amount of reparations available for distribution to countries whose claim may be entitled to priority of consideration and second, because she preferred not to add to that heavy burden which Italy

must carry up the steep hill towards economic recovery. The delegation has however reserved the right to utilize Italian assets in India towards liquidating Indian nationals' claims to compensation for damage arising out of the war and for meeting in part certain other claims.

India's concern in the future of the ex-Italian colonies in Africa has been made fully apparent. Discussion on this issue ended yesterday and a position in which India will be consulted before any final decision is taken is assured.

The immigration bills introduced in the legislatures of three of the East African colonies have caused a great deal of apprehension both in India and among Indians in those colonies. The delegation headed by Raja Sir Maharaj Singh has contacted the people there—Indians, Africans, Europeans and others and the Government of India are awaiting its report.

Unfortunately there has been for sometime past a kind of impasse with regard to our relations with Ceylon. Many things have happened here in recent months or years which have agitated Indian opinion a good deal. But we have tried our utmost and we propose to continue trying to approach the people of Ceylon and the Ceylon Government in a friendly manner because it is inevitable that Ceylon and India must pull together in future and we do not want to create bad blood between us.

We welcome the proposed formation of a new Government under Major General Aung San in Burma from many points of view. First of all we welcome in the hope that this will lead rapidly to the freedom and independence of Burma. And secondly we not only hope but expect that the relations between our Government and the new Burmese Government will be friendly and cordial. We also express gratitude to the new Governor of Burma.

for the withdrawal of certain trials that were proceeding against Indians there

Conditions in Malava are none too good. The Mission sent by the Congress and Congress Medical Mission had returned after doing very good work. The Government of India have so far sent Rs. 10 lakhs to give relief to indigent Indians there.

Obviously in the future we have to do two things, first to have a much larger number of diplomatic representatives and secondly to deal with them directly. Naturally oftener enough we shall inform them of what we have done. But the point is that direction and advice will go from here and not from the foreign office in London. We hope fairly soon to have regular diplomatic representatives in some countries, probably beginning with the U.S.A. and China. We have at present Agents-General in Nanking and Washington and so we have contacts which we can develop. We can give them a higher status and have direct relations with these Governments.

We should like the same type of relations with Russia but for the moment we have none and we have to explore, investigate and then establish it after consultation with the Soviet Government. We certainly welcome friendly relations with Russia from every point of view, because apart from Russia's intrinsic importance in world affairs to-day, the Soviet Union is our neighbour, and it is always desirable to have neighbourly relations with neighbours.

The Government of India will informally contact the various countries of Europe including, of course, France and find out exactly what kind of representatives they would like to exchange with us. This applies also to Russia and various countries of Asia. The Government

of India intended to send a goodwill mission to the Middle Eastern countries—Egypt Iran Iraq, not with a view to conveying any special political message but a message of goodwill and friendliness and our desire to have closer relations diplomatic and cultural We hope we shall be able to get Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to lead it

The personnel of the mission to Europe have not yet been chosen but it is hoped that one of the persons who will help us in this matter would be Mr Krishna Menon President of the India League London I do not know whether Mr Menon will go to Russia That depends upon arrangements to be made later We will be very glad to send Indian women not only to the International Conferences but to appoint them permanently as Ministers and Ambassadors

So far the High Commissioner's office in London hardly dealt with political matters It is now mainly concerned with pay pensions and some other odd jobs but obviously in the changed circumstances this office by whatever name it is called is likely to be much more important than it had been in the past Even in the past to some extent India has voted against British proposal That has happened and it is quite conceivable that many such occasions may arise Naturally when India goes in any international conference or elsewhere she goes there not to quarrel with people but to get things done as far as possible in her own way It is not always easy or possible to get one's way in these international conferences and as you see there are all manner of groupings and pulls in different directions So occasions may arise when India may be opposed to the foreign policy of any country including England

If the new Government wanted to change the personnel of the delegation to the Paris Conference it could

certainly have done so, but things being what they are at the conference it did not think it worth while in the the last stage to make any changes. But whoever the delegates or representatives are and whatever their previous backgrounds may be, obviously they have to carry out instructions sent from here. May be in some matter they have no instructions because amendments come up suddenly and in large numbers and it is not easy to keep peace with them. Then they have to exercise their discretion within the larger instructions sent to them.

A question has been asked as to whether we will function at International Conferences as one bloc with the Commonwealth countries. In answer to this I should say that we are going to those conferences to function just as a block in the sense that we must follow whichever way the bloc goes. We shall confer with them. We shall try to get them round to our view point. When we do not succeed, we shall differ and go our way.

In the past the Indian delegates functioned very much like kind of camp followers of the British delegation. About 15 or 20 years ago they were practically appointed by the Secretary of State in consultation with the Government of India or *vice versa*. That practice has been gradually fading off, although it still exists. I believe that it is growing more common at these conferences for the Indian delegates to confer occasionally with representatives from Asian countries, because they felt that Asia has certain interests which they should protect all together. Normally speaking, Asia's representation on international conferences, bodies and commissions is very poor compared to Europe. Whenever such a matter arises which is an Asian question they all hold together, may be with other countries like Egypt.

It was a very well known fact that we are hundred per cent in sympathy with the Indonesian Republic. We want them to win through and establish their freedom in Indonesia and we should like to help and support them in every way in their task. We have not recognised the Indonesian Republic in formal sense that nations recognise other nations but in practice we recognise it.

It is conceivable that our views in regard to this matter or in regard to Iran are exactly the same as the British Government's. But our interests may not be the same. We have no interest in policing other countries' affairs.

The British Empire being a very spread out organism obviously has all manner of interests with which we may not be concerned. In fact we might be apprehensive of being dragged into other people's quarrels. We do not want that to happen. All these matters are in a transitional stage. What we are aiming at is quite clear, what we can or we may do to-morrow is not quite so clear.

We are entirely opposed to policing other countries and more especially opposed to the use of any Indian resources, men or money in opposition to the national movement in any other country.

We should like to have all our Indian troops back in India wherever they may be. We have been assured that this process is going on. It seems to us however that it has taken longer than it need have done but the principle is admitted that they must come back. For instance from Indonesia many have come back. A fair number still remains there but we are told that all of them will be back by the end of November.

Apart from the question of shipping whenever the question of troops comes in one has to deal with complicated and rather static organisms like war offices.

VI

ON COMMUNAL RIOTS

[Pandit Nehru's tour in the not-affected areas of Bihar with the Communication Member of the Interim Government, Mr Abdur Rab Nishtar, and other Congress and League leaders had quite a good effect on the situation and in many places where Panditji made speeches people took oath that they would maintain peace and protect the minority community even sacrificing their lives. A very big meeting was organised on November 6, 1946, by the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee at Bankipur Maidan which was addressed by Pandit Nehru. Another memorable speech was delivered by Panditji at Taragna on the previous day making a fervent appeal to the people to stop murder and arson once for all.]

At Bankipur Maidan Meeting

Friends, I fail to understand how the simple-minded Kisans of Bihar were maddened in this way to behave like beasts. I heard shouts of "Delhi Chalo" from them but their actions have made Delhi distant for me for the time being as I cannot go back to Delhi leaving things as they are after what I have heard and seen in Bihar.

It is a matter of shame for me to come down here and ask you to observe the basic principles of civilised conduct when so many problems, national and international are facing us and need solution. Things which even a child understands have to be repeated to you at this stage.

that do not kill your neighbour or set houses on fire or loot property which does not belong to you. What happened in Noakhali was certainly bad enough. But surely that could not wash away the sins committed in Bihar. By no standards of civilised conduct can acts of lawlessness and killing of neighbours be justified. There can be no justification for stooping to bestiality simply because some of your fellowmen have lost their heads elsewhere. I have heard students and other ~~ism~~ —wallahs shouting slogans but what is happening in this province is pure and simple hooliganism and it is your first and foremost duty to stop it at once and at all costs. You cannot shift the responsibility by simply saying that you did not take part in it individually. People met me in the villages and even in the town of Patna itself expressing their fear of their neighbours. It is regrettable that the fear of the ruling race which have been dispelled by the untiring efforts of Mahatma Gandhi should now be supplanted by the fear of their own countrymen. For the good of the country if not for anything else this fear must have to be dispelled for good. No country can progress if its people are fearful of each other.

I advise the people to shed all fear and to discontinue shouting of slogans which creates panic for the time being. Discountenance rumours, organise defence committees if you like but be courageous.

It is also regrettable that the people by their actions have forced the hands of the Government to take resort to force and summon military aid to control the situation. No Government either of Hindu or Muslims can tolerate lawlessness and is bound to take repressive measures and use force for restoring peace. When Government have to follow such a course by firing machine-gunning and bombing people both innocent and guilty have to suffer.

that such misdeeds will be responsible if chariot of freedom gets clogged half way

Who is happy now over such inhuman behaviour over killing of man by man over setting fire on neighbours homestead and over creating enemies of friends of long standing? It is neither of the two communities but behind this sordid drama of bestial beings of passionate fanatics enjoyed British masters who want to prove to the world that India with men of two major communities are unable to settle up accounts among themselves even if freedom come to their door Whatever might have happened I want every individual irrespective of caste and creed to take a solemn vow to arrest the tide of communalism and to stop loot and arson Otherwise the Congress built on sacrifice and self immolation of patriots for over half a century will be tarnished and the fair name of Mahatma Gandhi the apostle of truth and non violence and the torch bearer of love will be painted in black

I can hardly imagine how the beast of man did suddenly get over all sense of humanity and decorum and indulge in man killing

The hymn of hate and mutual suspicion must be stopped Any vandalism must be checked with adequate machinery If required the Government will not hesitate to employ mighty military forces to suppress such hooliganism No Government can ever tolerate any lawlessness or anarchy

As for myself I will never allow any repetition of communal massacre anywhere I have suspended all my engagements and I will go from village to village in Bihar to prevent communal riots If any man kills anyone of the other community he will have to kill Jawaharlal first and over my body you will have to repeat the crime

add to this bitterness or raise a fresh controversy in this House

The newspapers are full of communal troubles and riots and bloody murder and much worse. No one certainly not the Government desires to suppress facts. This House must be seized of the facts so that it may form proper judgment and devise remedies. The facts are bad enough terribly bad. And yet what often appears in the newspapers is something far removed from facts and the manner of presentation is such as to inflame public passion.

I trust and I am sure the House will agree with me that it is the duty of all of us and more especially of the members to be exceedingly careful in these days of crisis and disaster to take every care not to say or do anything which might excite the people and worsen the already bad situation.

One of the worst features of the situation is the dominance of rumour which exaggerates everything and sometimes creates out of nothing. The most fantastic accounts spread rapidly and are believed in. We have to suffer not only insecurity and public disorder but something which is even worse because it feeds and nurtures that disorder. This is anarchy of the mind. It is just when crisis faces us that we have to maintain the equilibrium of our minds.

To give an account of the communal trouble in the country is to deal with a chain of events going back into the past. One evil action leads to another which again becomes the ostensible cause of further evil. The preaching and practice of hatred and violence inevitably sows seeds which yield bitter fruit. If we sow the wind we have to reap the whirlwind.

Ever since the Interim Government took charge of affairs, they have been intensely occupied with these communal troubles. The House will remember that this Government took office very soon after what is called the Great Calcutta Killing which began on August 16. All our work was shadowed by these events and we tried our utmost to deal with this situation.

A succession of events, which are known to this House, led to the Great Calcutta Killing. That was followed by the great tragedy of Noakhali and East Bengal and that again led to the terrible happenings in Bihar. And now Bihar is leading to other outbursts of brutality and violence. There appears to be a competition in murder and brutality, and unless we put a stop to this, the immediate future of our country is dark.

That it can be put a stop to, I have little doubt, not by a reliance on mere armed force, though that may be necessary occasionally, but by the efforts of all those who influence public opinion, can we put an end to this horror which comes in the way of all political and social progress, and indeed which is already making life a burden for many of us. It must be clearly accepted that we cannot settle any problem by the methods of hatred and violence.

Recently I have come into intimate contact with masses of people in Bihar, and I saw the horrors that a simple and likeable peasantry can perpetrate when it loses all balance and sanity.

I found that during the Calcutta Killing a large number of Biharis had lost their lives. Their relatives had returned to Bihar together with many other refugees and had spread out all over the rural areas carrying stories of what had happened in Calcutta. The people of Bihar were stirred profoundly.

Then came news of Noakhali and East Bengal. These stories and more especially the accounts of abduction and rape of women and forcible conversion of large numbers of people infuriated the populace. For some time they looked to the Central Government and hoped that this would give relief and afford protection. When they did not see any such help or protection forthcoming they grew bitter and criticised strongly the Interim Government for its apparent inactivity.

The House knows that the Government of India may not interfere under the existing constitution with provincial autonomy. In so far as anyone can interfere under this constitution it is the Governor-General and not the Governor-General-in-Council.

Nevertheless, as Indians in responsible position to whom the country looked for guidance we tried our utmost to help.

Throughout this unhappy period whether it was in Calcutta or elsewhere in India or Noakhali and East Bengal or Bihar the Government were acutely conscious of their responsibilities and keenly desirous of combating the peril that had encompassed the country. There has been much public criticism of our seeming inaction because necessarily we could not function in public in regard to these matters. If facts were known I do not think that this criticism would be considered to be justified.

Various incidents occurred in Bihar which added to the general excitement. Towards the end of October there was trouble in Chapra district and in Bhagalpur city. This was soon suppressed. Then came on October 31 trouble on a big scale in Patna district overflowing into Gaya and Monghyr districts.

It was in essence a mass uprising, large numbers of peasants burning and killing mercilessly. As always happens on such occasions, criminal and anti-social elements took part and even took the lead in certain areas. One of the difficulties of the situation was that the areas could not be easily reached because of lack of communications and flooded conditions.

This mass uprising lasted almost exactly one week. Just as it started suddenly, it ended also equally suddenly. This rapid ending of a wide-spread movement, which was on the verge of spreading to other districts, was remarkable. The military, of course, came in at a somewhat later stage and helped in restoring order.

But a much more powerful factor in this restoration of order was the effect of a large number of persons, chiefly Biharis, who spread out all over the villages and came face to face with the peasant masses. The news of Mahatma Gandhi's proposed fast also had a powerful effect.

Grossly exaggerated accounts have appeared in newspapers of the number of casualties during these troubles caused both by infuriated mobs and by military firing. It is difficult to give at present even approximately accurate figures of casualties. But it can be said with certainty that some of the figures appearing in newspapers are completely wrong. They are usually based on accounts of panic-stricken refugees who had lost all balance or judgment.

The Bihar situation was brought completely under control after a week and is quiet now. Evidence of a return to normality is the desire of people to return to their villages. The great problem there now is how to rehabilitate these people. The Bihar Government have undertaken responsibility to lodge, feed and provide other

necessaries including medical relief to the evacuees. I understand that they also propose to give financial assistance to the sufferers in order to help rehabilitation.

As I have stated the news from and about Noakhali created a very profound feeling in Bihar and the rest of India. I am not in a position to say much about present conditions in East Bengal. But recent reports from reliable witnesses have drawn particular attention to the vital problem of restoring women who were abducted and forcibly converted.

This problem is not only important in itself but also because of its all India repercussions. It is therefore urgently necessary that every possible step should be taken with all possible speed to restore them to their people. Only then can beginnings be made of rehabilitation in East Bengal.

It is clearly the duty of the State to give every possible assistance to the sufferers from these disturbances. I hope that Provincial Governments will undertake this duty in adequate measures. This will help also in producing a feeling of security among the people and a psychological atmosphere for a return to normality.

Recent events around and near Delhi must be fresh in the minds of members. It is time that we put an end to all this sorry business all over India and I trust that every sensible Indian whatever his political views might be will co-operate with others in this vital and urgent task.

AT MEERUT CONGRESS

[The Subjects Committee of the Meerut Congress session opened on November 21, 1946, and Pandit Nehru, the retiring President formally opened the proceedings and handed over charge to Acharya Kripalani who then took the chair. Thus a start to the annual session of the Congress after six years was given and Pandit Jawaharlal moved the most important political resolution declaring on the eve of the summoning of the Constituent Assembly that the Congress stands for an independent, sovereign republic. The resolution was adopted unanimously. Speaking on the resolution Panditji made the following speech and in an outspoken declaration stated that the atmosphere in the Interim Government after the League's entry had become so strained that Congress members had twice threatened to resign.]

Friends and Comrades, I move a resolution for your acceptance. The resolution is this: "On the eve of the summoning of the Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution for India, this Congress declares that it stands for an independent sovereign republic wherein all powers and authority are derived from the people, and for the constitution wherein social objective are laid down to promote freedom, progress and equal opportunity for all the people of India, so that this ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full contribution to the promotion of world peace and the progress and welfare of mankind, and directs all Congressmen to work to this end."

This resolution is in the nature of a directive to Congress members of the Constituent Assembly. This is the first time that we use the words independent sovereign republic to describe our objective. The resolution contains an indication that this republic will have a socialist basis.

While we are moving fast to achieve that and the idea of resignation has passed through my mind dozens of times recently. My mind has been packed by the happenings in Calcutta and Bihar. I and my colleagues joined the Government in order to bring independence. I can not claim that we have succeeded but I do not think we have failed completely either.

Wrong statements have been attributed to me with regard to Bihar. It has been said that I favoured bombing of Biharis from the air. I who have opposed bombing of tribal areas shall be the last person in the world to advocate it in Bihar or anywhere. What I actually said was that if the military took control of the situation the Government would have great difficulty in checking any measures that the military might take and that the military might conceivably use bombs if they thought it necessary.

The circumstances in which the Congress formed the Interim Government are generally known. With the League's entry into it some of the conventions previously built up have been discarded. The Viceroy does not continue the spirit in which the Government was formed.

Two basic principles laid down in the formation of the Interim Government were firstly that it should work as a team and secondly that Muslim League could only join if it accepted the long term plan. The League accepted both the principles although Mr Jinnah used round-about phraseology but now the Muslim League says that the Interim Government is neither a Cabinet nor a

condition and that the Muslim members form a separate block.

I have written to Mr. Jinnah suggesting that differences between the Congress and League in the Interim Government should be settled by mutual agreement without the Viceroy's intervention. But that suggestion remains unaccepted.

The Muslim League have always worked in league with the British Government to oppose nationalist forces in the country. That policy is still continuing and the British Government have taken advantage of it for their own ends. The League have allied themselves also with permanent officials, who consider that they have the right to rule over India.

Because of these difficulties I and my colleagues have threatened to resign twice during recent days. I want to say that our patience is strained to breaking point. And if these things continue, they will lead to a big struggle.

It is clear from Mr. Jinnah's statements that the League entered the Government not to work it but because they feared they would be weakened if they kept out. It is also clear from Mr. Jinnah's letters to the Viceroy that the League has not accepted the statement of May 16. If so how can they continue in the Interim Government.

It is absurd to go on breaking promises so often and expect that Government will go on. The Viceroy is gradually removing the wheels of the car. In any case, the situation is critical but nevertheless we must stay in the Interim Government though I can not say, how long.

Mr. Jinnah has tried to get the Constituent Assembly postponed "sine die". If it is so postponed now, it may be said to be postponed for ever. I am not enamoured of this Constituent Assembly but we have accepted it and should make the best use of it for our benefit. I do not

expect that this will be the last Constituent Assembly. When our freedom becomes ampler we shall have another Constituent Assembly.

One good thing about this Constituent Assembly is that the British have no direct representation though we cannot prevent their indirect representation in it. If we do not hold the Constituent Assembly now the atmosphere will deteriorate. The League is welcome to join the Constituent Assembly but let me make it clear that whether they come in or keep out we shall go on. We will go to the Constituent Assembly fully prepared and fully organised to establish an independent republic. We are not going in to fight over petty things.

IX

BALANCE SHEET OF THE PAST

[The plenary session of the Meerut Congress unanimously passed on November 23, 1946, a resolution giving a retrospect of events during the past six and half years and calling upon people to end internecine conflict and to face unitedly all dangers internal and external in the spirit in which they have fought in the past for India's independence. In moving the resolution Pandit Nehru recalled official atrocities during 1942 revolt and made the following speech full of warmth and agony]

Friends and Comrades, I move this resolution, the 'retrospect' resolution, a resolution drawing a balance sheet of the past in order that we may have a clear picture of our objectives for the future, for your acceptance. The resolution is this

"The Congress meeting after six and a half years of war and upheaval and frightfulness, pays its homage to the memory of all those who have given their lives in the cause of India's freedom and all those who have suffered in the struggle for freedom and the emancipation of India's millions

"During these years the World War raged in all its fury, and in India the armed might of an alien imperialist power tried to crush the spirit of freedom and the passionate desire of the Indian people to gain independence

"The Indian people resisted this ruthless onslaught and through travail and agony demonstrated their will to freedom. The complete failure and incompetence of an

out-of-date political and administrative system resulted in famine which took its toll of millions of lives

The end of the World War has not brought peace to the world and the appearance of the atom bomb as a weapon of war with its frightful and horrible powers of destruction has brought to a crisis the immoral and self destructive elements of the present-day political economic and spiritual structure of the world

Civilisation is likely to destroy itself unless it gives up its imperialist and acquisitive tendencies and bases itself on the peaceful co-operation of free nations and on the maintenance of the dignity of man

In India as elsewhere the period of transition from the Old World which has demonstrated its failure to the new to which millions look with hope and for which they strive is full of peril and reactionary forces are everywhere trying to prevent the establishment of a new order of peace and freedom

This Congress has always stood for the full co-operation of free nations and for the removal of political and economic inequality between nations and peoples. India has been and is to-day the crux of the problem of freedom of subject peoples.

On the complete emancipation of the Indian people depends freedom of vast numbers of others in Asia Africa and elsewhere World peace and progress depend upon the solution of the Indian problem

This Congress therefore reiterates its firm determination to continue the struggle for India's complete freedom till she becomes an independent nation co-operating with others on an equal basis for the establishment of peace freedom and progress everywhere India by virtue of her past her present position and her potential

power, cannot accept a secondary position in the Comity of Nations

"For more than sixty years the National Congress has led the people of India towards this ideal and through struggle and constructive effort it has built up the strength of the Indian people. It has based itself on high ideals and endeavoured to put before the moral standards of conduct both on the individual and on the political plane because it was convinced that greatness of achievement comes to a nation only by keeping high objectives before it and by pursuing methods which are worthy of a great people

"In these days of bitter and tragic internal conflict and a lowering of these ideals, this Congress reiterates its faith in the high dignity of India and the ideals which have moved the Indian people. Any weakness, complacency or straying from the straight path of freedom may well imperil the independence for which the people of India have struggled and which is now within their grasp.

"The Congress, therefore, calls upon the people to put an end to internecine conflict and to face internal and external dangers as a united people in the spirit in which they have fought in the past for India's independence. That struggle has not ended and may yet require many sacrifices."

Friends, I propose this resolution before you with a mind overwhelmed with the memories of the People's Revolt of 1942, a year of sorrow, suffering and sacrifice

I can never forget the part played by British as well as Indian Officers in that year. I realise their position and am prepared to sympathise with them. But those who were responsible for the atrocities committed on the people must not escape punishment. We can show neither fear nor favour in punishing them

I draw the attention of provincial premiers and Ministers in the matter I want the Viceroy also take note of it.

The Viceroy once suggested to me not to oppress officials I have no intention to oppress them but it must be made clear that I am not prepared to compromise with officials guilty of wrongs during 1942 whether they are British or Indians

I recognise we have to depend on officials but we must also keep them to the right path and not let them degenerate or be demoralised We must also protect them They include good and intelligent men

But the Services are fossilised in their mental outlook They are wedded to bygone and obsolete methods and refuse to move with the changing times British officers in particular look to the Muslim League for sympathy and collaboration They are in effect members of the Muslim League Both the League and the British servicemen are still in the mediæval age mentally

It remains to be seen how long we can function in these circumstances. The experience of the past three or four months has shown us that the conduct and attitude of the Officers have not changed

The British Government in England may be true to their promises but have to depend on their agents in India and be guided by their advice The Britishers in India talk of quitting India but at the same time plot to impede our programme

But they are not the only enemy We have enemies in our camp We must weed our corruption and defeat these enemies in the final struggle for India's liberation

The resolution I have said will be accepted by you all

ADVICE TO CONGRESSMEN

[Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing about three hundred delegates and Congress workers from the United Provinces attending the Meerut Congress gave some valuable advice in a neat little speech in a tent in the Congress Nagar in the chilly night of November 23, 1946]

We are in the midst of a crisis—very grave crisis If you ask me to-day whether I shall still continue to be in the Interim Government 10 days hence, I cannot tell you The picture is changing rapidly every day

But this much is certain The wise and mighty British Government has been uprooted from our mother soil It cannot take its root here again

Every Englishman knows this well May be he has still some capacity left in him to do some mischief these days, his last days But deep down in his heart he hopes that in India his day has ended

Of the future we need not despair The dark and fallen days of India are over Our country is bound to emerge as one of the greatest powers in the world It cannot remain small and insignificant

I ask our people to beware of the damage—not so much physical which is not so dangerous—to our minds and hearts that the Englishman will wreak whilst quitting He may produce such a dangerous ulcer on our minds and hearts that may take very long to heal We have to meet the mischief Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and we must be constantly vigilant

During this period of disturbances throughout the country, this new horrible gruesome phenomenon, my advice to Congressmen is not to let the cement of idealism and noble aspirations fall off from them Keep constant

contact with the masses—the worker the peasant the rickshaw puller. But, it would be very dangerous if we let doubts grip the minds of those unsophisticated folk about the Congress. We must work among them as a whole for their welfare.

Even these disturbances occurring on a gigantic and new scale are signs of a growing dynamic India—an India that has long been kept in bondage and is now bursting and bubbling with life. But we must take care that this tremendous flood of energy is canalised in the right and useful direction and not wasted in self-destruction.

There is a new ferment and a new spirit pervading our country to-day. We must not be static but keep pace with the march of time. We should be up and doing and let our grip on freedom grow firmer.

In the conditions of today old slogans seem a little out of place to me. To say that to-day we have to fight the British would be something like fighting phantoms. It would be like fighting an army lost in the jungles and running about purposelessly.

Work for extending the great organisation the Congress that has for 60 years fought for freedom. Let us not lose sight of the goal and get mixed up with trivialities.—*Jai Hind*

LONDON RECEPTION

[On December 4, 1946, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh were given a rousing reception at the Kingsway Hall, London, where they and Mr Jinnah went at the invitation of Mr Attlee, the British Prime Minister, to discuss matters relating to the Cabinet Mission Plan and transference of power to the Indians. The reception meeting which took place in a packed hall was presided over by Mr Reginald Sorensen, Labour Member of Parliament, and Pandit Nehru made the following speech in reply.]

Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen, as I enter this Hall I remember that more than eight years have passed that I last came to address a meeting here. My mind goes back to various visits to Britain and to London where, I came ages ago as a little boy to go to school. Then I went to College and in later years came here several times in different capacities. Then, I thought that tonight I have come in a different guise and different capacity.

How far have I changed? I suppose I have changed a lot now. Others are better judges than myself. But the fact that I have come on this occasion as a member of the Government of India may appear important to others, but so far as I am aware, it makes no difference to me in the sense that what I stood for and worked and laboured for previously remains the same, whether I represent the Government of India or not.

It is true that as one gets closer to reality then only he sees the difficulties which he had not observed previously or to which importance had not been attached.

Even in these three months I have been associated with the Government of India I have found many things that I knew existed there and many new aspects of these things which I did not sufficiently realize previously. All manner of new problems and new difficulties rise up continually. At the same time I do not wish you to imagine that because of these problems and difficulties any of us ever loses sight of what we have been striving for or desires to divert all our attention from the main problem before us.

I have come to believe more than ever that there can be no solution of the Indian problem unless two things happen. One is that there can be no true solution in India of even our domestic problems unless these problems are left entirely and completely to ourselves. So long as there is any instruction or interference by others even if it may be well meant it becomes difficult to solve the problem.

Inevitably the reality that we have to face is covered up by that external interference. The attention is diverted and many people look not to facts there we have to face but to other quarters. Therefore one of the first essentials for a true solution and approach to the solution is that the people of India should know and feel that they have to decide and if they fail that the consequences will be borne by them. That introduces a measure of reality into the picture.

The second point that I think is fundamental is this—the Indian problem long ceased to be a purely political problem between India and England. Of course it is a political problem but it is not only a political

problem and to-day we have to face in India we have faced it for long but now more so than ever, all manner of economic problems, all manner of problems affecting the masses of India

Any attempt at a solution on political lines which does not solve or go a long way in solving these economic problems will necessarily meet with failure

It is not merely a question of my desire to do so or some body else wanting to do so, but circumstances compel us to do so and if we, in our preoccupation with politics fail to understand these circumstances, not only do we invite disaster but possibly, even the political problem is not properly solved. So it becomes rather complicated as every question in the world is complicated, because of this inter-action of this factor

I do not think that it will be right of me to speak to you tonight of any special subject, much less on the immediate cause of my coming to Britain

But when you do me the honour of coming here to meet me and welcome me, and when I see so many friendly faces, many of which I recognise and others I may not know, I am drawn towards you. I should like to say so many things to you, and to hear many things from you, because we meet tonight after so many years of abnormal significance, years which are producing big revolutionary changes in the world and in India

My own particular difficulty in India has been that, while unfortunately these vast changes are in the air, the attention of many of my countrymen is restricted, to what I consider in this large context, relatively petty conflicts, internal conflicts, which is our misfortune

We may blame others for that and others may well have a share in accentuating these conflicts but, nevertheless, it is a poor thing to go on blaming others for our

failings It is our failing and in the measure that we get over that failing are we likely to succeed

India has potentialities to become a great power but a divided India would fall a prey to outside intervention and exploitation No Indian should say anything to hurt the feelings of a brother Indian and thus help to create divisions among themselves

We should settle our political and economic problems in such a way that everybody should be happy Our aim is to remove poverty of our masses That is real freedom There is no meaning of freedom for hungry men

In the course of our struggle for freedom India suffered greatly Now it is a new type of difficulty The old type is still there no doubt but a new type has been added to it which is going to test us and test us to the utmost It is difficult for me or any one to go assuring others of his *bona fides* Either you accept one's *bona fides* or do not But there is such a thing as a record of the movement

I refer to the record of the Indian National Movement that movement as any big movement comprised within its folds all manner of folk—good bad and indifferent Still I think it is true to say that the Movement has not only kept high ideals before it high ideals not only in the larger sense of group working but even in a personal sense and in spite of failure to reach always all these ideals it has always looked up to them and tried to work in accordance with them I do not wish to draw a comparison with what has happened in other countries because conditions differ in every country and it is difficult but I think it is true to say that we have deliberately attached considerable importance to the means not because of any theoretical or philosophical preferences but because we

failings It is our failing and in the measure that we get over that failing are we likely to succeed

India has potentialities to become a great power but a divided India would fall a prey to outside intervention and exploitation No Indian should say anything to hurt the feelings of a brother Indian and thus help to create divisions among themselves

We should settle our political and economic problems in such a way that everybody should be happy Our aim is to remove poverty of our masses That is real freedom There is no meaning of freedom for hungry men

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realise that when we pursue wrong means, the ends are quite distored and therefore, in fact the ends change

We have tried to follow that and you may imagine the feelings of those who have worked a long stretch of years and dreamed not only of a free India in the political sense but also of an India where hundreds of millions of people can raise themselves to really human relations, when we find this jealousy and conflict and bitterness and bickering going on about small things

I want to refer here to newspaper descriptions of "representatives of the Congress, Sikhs and Muslims " It is not pleasant to hear that I may remind my hearers that our conception of India is not narrowly national or nationalistic but is something which fits in properly in the higher international context

RECEPTION AT THE INDIA HOUSE

[A second crowded reception in honour of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Head of the Interim National Government of India in London at the India House was organised by the Indian Association Institute on December 5 1946 After a short address in Hindusthani Panditji delivered the following speech in English]

Friends Ladies and Gentlemen I arrived in England only day before yesterday and now a few hours later the gathering appears to me to be a farewell gathering for I am leaving after one more day These two or three days I have been here have been very full days occupied with all manner of interviews and talks and committees but probably the most lasting impression that I will carry away will be that of many friends—my own countrymen and others—whom I have met

When in far off countries it cheers one up much more to know that spread out in the various corners of the world there are people who look more or less the same way and who are helpers in common cause When there are difficulties one is heartened and cheered by this thought

For this reason if for no other my very brief visit to England has been very much worth while And I shall go back from here not only with very pleasant memories but greatly heartened to face the difficult tasks ahead of us in India

These tasks are difficult of course, and it would be folly to minimise these difficulties. At the same time, it would be a greater folly to exaggerate them or to feel rather overwhelmed by them. That, of course does not help at any time. For my part, I can tell you quite honestly I think that I have no sense of being overwhelmed by any difficulty in India.

Certainly, I have a sense of bearing heavy responsibility when the decisions we make can make a difference to large numbers of people. That is always a tremendous responsibility. That responsibility, indeed, would be impossible to bear if it was an individual responsibility. But when one shares it with others not only those few who might be intimately associated in that responsibility but with vast numbers of other comrades, it is shared and spread out and does not become so heavy.

On such occasions, it becomes impossible for all of us to remain as calm-eyed and cool-headed as possible. That of course, is desirable on all occasions, the more so when apparently difficulty faces one. I find some people worried, and some of the questions they put to me appear to indicate a state of mind which does not denote any clear-headedness. One is apt to feel frightened by the particular difficulty of the moment.

Naturally the moment counts and we have to face that moment then. If anything has been obvious in India for sometime and today, it is this. That vast forces are at work. India for a large number of years had been more or less what I may call a static country. For sometime it stopped growing. With individual so also with the nation, a static condition is not a healthy condition.

Whatever the reason may be, however, there is a change and any body with a good perspective, with eyes

or ears to see and hear can see that India to-day with all its virtues and failings is tremendously dynamic

That is to-day India is full of life Now if a country is dynamic that energy may go into the right channels or wrong channels—that is a separate question But the first thing is that you should have that energy or life because something which is dead or approaching death is not much good

India is a living throbbing dynamic vital thing to-day It is true that some of that energy and life sometimes flow into the wrong channels to-day We have to check that—divert that current Nevertheless the fundamental thing is the life that is there that brought about a tremendous change in the Indian scene in the past few years The change has not been sudden it has been gradual but it is there for you to see and if you look at it from any point of view—political social or economic you will see these signs of a great force retained for so long trying to burst its chains spread out and go ahead I have no doubt in my mind that as soon as we get thoroughly going as an independent country we shall go ahead at a very fast pace

So we need not be frightened or overwhelmed by the problems or difficulties of to-day At the same time we must tackle them of course not just in the spirit of anger or spite and passion that does not help—but trying to understand them and in keeping to the principles and ideals we have had always in view Obviously all that life and dynamic energy would be frustrated and wasted if it were spent in mutual conflict We can do nothing big if we spend our time and energy in this bickering and conflicts We have to deal with this matter and we have to realise that India can only be big and great if it views

this problem in a large way, not in the narrow or sectarian way.

It is impossible, I think, for India to be the country I would like it to be if any one group in India, whether religious or other, tries to dominate any other group. Conception of Indian freedom that we have always had and spoken about has been one of equal freedom and equal opportunity for every one of the 300 millions of India.

Indeed it is an even larger conception because our nationalism unlike many other nationalisms is closely allied with internationalism. We have not thought in the past and we do not propose to think in future in terms of any kind of aggression on any other country.

It may appear odd for me even to refer to aggression. But the fact remains that India is powerful and dynamic enough to go in for aggression if she chooses.

Finally, regarding the Indian Association Institute recently formed into a body, I remember that when I used to come to England I remarked to friends on the absence of such an institute or organisation in London. I think that where there are Indians there should be some such institutes specially in a great city like London.

When I heard of this institute being formed some few months back in India I was delighted and did a thing which normally I do not do—I was weak enough to consent to become its president. I did not know that the organisation would grow or what shape it would take, but I knew the ideal was good and the foundations appeared well and truly laid.

DECLARATION OF OBJECTIVES

[On moving the resolution on the declaration of objectives in the Constituent Assembly on December 13 1946 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a stirring speech which was emotional in parts and bitter in others. A long debate and a number of amendments followed but the original resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority. Pandit Nehru's speech is given below.]

Friends this resolution is not a part of the constitution that we are going to draw up and it must not be looked upon as such. This house has perfect freedom to draw up a constitution and when others join this house they will have perfect freedom too to fashion out that constitution. This resolution steers in between two extremes (of saying too much and too little) and lays down only certain fundamentals which I believe no group no party and hardly any individual in India can dispute.

I wish to make it clear that so far as this resolution of declaration is concerned it does not interfere in any way with any future work that this Constituent Assembly may do or with any future negotiations which it may undertake. Only in one sense if you like does it limit our work if you call that a limitation. That is we adhere to certain fundamental propositions which are laid down in this declaration and those fundamental propositions I do submit are not controversial in any real sense of the word. Nobody challenges them in India nobody

INDIA'S CHARTER OF FREEDOM

THE Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to produce India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution;

WHEREAS the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India shall be a union of them all; and

WHEREAS the said territories whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units together with residuary powers and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom; and

WHEREAS all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government are derived from the people; and

WHEREAS shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social, economic and political; equality of status of opportunity and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and

WHEREAS adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas and depressed and other backward classes; and

WHEREAS shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilised nations; and

THAT ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

This is the text of the Resolution unanimously adopted by the Constituent Assembly of India on the 22nd January 1950

ought to challenge them. If any body does challenge them we accept the challenge and we hold to our position.

I was reluctant to go to England for reasons that the house knows well, but I went because of a personal request from the Prime Minister of Great Britain. I went and I met with courtesy everywhere, and yet at this psychological moment in India's history, when we wanted, when we hungered, for messages of cheer, friendship and co-operation from all over the world, and more specially from England, because of the past contact and conflict between us, unfortunately, I came back without any message of cheer and with a large measure of disappointment.

I hope that the new difficulties that have arisen—for new difficulties have arisen, as everyone knows because of recent statements made by the British Cabinet and others in authority there—I hope these will not come in our way and we shall yet succeed in going ahead with the co-operation of all of us here and those who have not come.

Nevertheless, it has been a blow to me, it has hurt me that just when we were going to strike ahead, obstructions were placed in our way, new limitations were mentioned which had not been mentioned previously, new methods of procedure were suggested.

Now I do not wish to challenge the *bona fides* of any person but I do wish to say this, that whatever the legal aspect of a thing might be there are moments when law is a feeble reed to rely upon, more especially when you have to deal with a nation which is full of the passion for freedom. Most of us here during these past many years, for a generation or more, have taken part in the struggle for India's freedom. We have gone through the

valley of the shadow of death and if necessity arises we shall go through it again

Nevertheless through all this long period we have thought of the time when we shall have an opportunity not merely to destroy but to construct and create And now that it appeared that the time was coming for constructive effort in a free India we looked forward to it with joy and when fresh difficulties are placed in our way at such a moment it hurts and it shows that whatever the force behind all this may be people who are able and clever and very intelligent somehow lack imagination which should accompany great offices

For if you have to deal with any people you have to understand them imaginatively emotionally and of course intellectually And one of the unfortunate legacies of this past has been that there has been no imagination in the understanding of the Indian problem

People have often indulged in and presumed to give us advice not realising that India as she is constituted to-day wants no one's advice and no one's imposition and that the only way to influence India is through friendship co-operation and goodwill Any element of imposition the slightest trace of patronage is resented and will be objected to

We have tried honestly enough in the last few months in spite of difficulties that have faced us to create an atmosphere of co-operation We shall continue that endeavour but I do very much fear that that atmosphere will be impaired if there is no sufficient response from others Nevertheless because we are bent on high tasks I do trust that we shall continue that endeavour and I do hope that if we continue that we shall succeed too

And we must continue that endeavour even though in our opinion some countrymen of ours take a wrong

path, for after all, we have to live together in this country, we have to work together, and we have inevitably to co-operate, if not to-day, then tomorrow or the day after. Therefore we have to avoid in the present anything which will create a new difficulty for the following of that future which we are working for.

So far as our own countrymen are concerned, we must inevitably try our utmost to gain their co-operation in the largest measure. Co-operation, we say. But co-operation cannot, does not, and will not mean giving up of the fundamental ideals on which we have stood and on which the nation should stand. Because that is not co-operation to achieve something, but a surrender of everything that has given meaning to our lives.

Apart from that, as I said, we seek the co-operation of England, even at this stage, which is full of suspicion of each other. We feel that if that co-operation is denied, may be, that will be injurious to India, certainly to some extent, but probably more so to England, and to some extent to the world at large.

We live to-day in a period when having just come out of a mighty war, people talk vaguely and wildly of new wars to come. At such a moment this new India is taking birth, renaissant, vital, fearless. Perhaps it was a suitable moment for this new birth to take place out of the turmoil of the world. But we have to be clear-eyed at this movement, we who have the heavy task of constitution building. We have to think of the tremendous prospect of the present and the greater prospect of the future and not get lost in seeking small gain for this group or that.

In this Constituent Assembly we are functioning on a world stage, and the eyes of the world are upon us, the eyes of our entire past are upon us, and though the future is still unborn, the future too looks at us. And so, I would

beg of this house to consider the resolution in this mighty prospect of our past of the turmoil of the present and of this great unborn future that awaits us.

Some people have pointed out to me that the mention of republic in the resolution may somewhat displease the Rulers of Indian States. It is possible that this word may displease them. But I want to make it clear that personally I do not believe in the monarchical system anywhere and that in the world to-day monarchy is a fast disappearing institution. Nevertheless it is not a question of my personal belief in this matter.

In regard to the States our views have been for many years first of all that the people of these States must share completely in the freedom to come. It is quite inconceivable to me that there must be different standards of or degrees of freedom as between the people in the States and the people outside the States. The States will be parts of the Union. That is a matter for this House to consider with representatives of the States and I hope in all matters relating to the States this House will deal with real representatives of the States.

We are perfectly willing I take it to deal in such matters as appertain to them with the rulers or their representatives also but finally when we make a constitution for India it must be through the representatives of the people of the States as of the rest of India who are present here.

While we may lay down or agree that the measure of freedom must be the same in the States as elsewhere personally I should like a measure of uniformity in regard to the apparatus and machinery of government nevertheless that is a point to be considered in co-operation and consultation with the States.

I imagine this Constituent Assembly will not like to impose anything upon the States against their will. If the people of a particular State desire to have a certain form of administration, even though it might be monarchical it is open to them to have it.

The House will remember that even in the British Commonwealth of Nations, to day, Eire is a republic and yet in many ways it is a member of the British Commonwealth. So it is a conceivable thing. What will happen I do not know. But there is no incongruity or impossibility about a certain different form of administration in the States, provided there is complete freedom and responsible government there and the people really are in charge. If monarchical figureheads are approved of by the people of a particular State, whether I like it or not, I certainly would not like to interfere.

The Assembly will have to pass its rules of procedure, to elect committees and the like before it could proceed to its real work—embarking upon high adventure of giving shape in the printed and written word to a nation's dream and aspiration.

It is with this purpose that I have placed this resolution before the House. It is something much more than a resolution, it is a declaration, it is a firm resolve, it is a pledge and an undertaking and it is for all of us, I hope, a dedication.

I wish this House, if I may say so respectfully, to consider this resolution not in a spirit of narrow legal wording but to look at the spirit behind the resolution. Words are magic things often enough, but even the mode of words sometimes cannot convey the magic of the human spirit and of a nation's spirit. And so I cannot say that this resolution at all conveys the passion that lies in the hearts and the minds of the Indian people today.

It seems very feebly to tell the world what we have sought and dreamed of for so long and what we now hope to achieve in the near future. It is in that spirit that I venture to place this resolution before this House and it is in that spirit that I trust the House will receive it and ultimately pass it.

May I also with all respect suggest to you and to the House that when the time comes for the passing of this resolution that may not be done in the formal way of raising of hands but much more solemnly by all of us standing up and thus taking this pledge anew.

The House knows that there are many absentees here, many members who have a right to come here have not come. We regret that because we should have liked to associate with ourselves as many representatives of as many different parts of India and as many different groups as possible.

We have undertaken a tremendous task and we seek the co-operation of all people in that task because the future of India that we have envisaged is not a future confined to any group religious provincial or other but it comprises all the 400 million people of India and it is with deep regret that we find some benches empty some colleagues who might have been here absent.

I do hope that they will come and this House in its future stages will have the benefit of the co-operation of all.

Meanwhile there is a duty cast upon us and that is to bear the absentees in mind to remember always that we are here not to function for one party or one group but always to think of India as a whole always to think the welfare of the 400 millions that comprise India.

We are all in our respective spheres party men belonging to this group or that and presumably we shall

continue to act in our respective parties. Nevertheless, times come when we have to rise above party and think of the nation, think sometimes of even the world at large of which our nation is a great part. And I think in the work of this Constituent Assembly the time has come when we should, in so far as we are capable of it, rise above all our little selves and party disputes and think of the great problems before us in the widest, most tolerant and the most effective manner, so that whatever we may produce will be worthy of India as a whole and the world shall recognise that we have functioned as we should have functioned in this high adventure.

There is another person who is absent here and who must be in the minds of many of us, as he is in my mind as I stand here to-day—the great leader of our people, the father of our nation, who has been the architect of this Assembly and all that has gone before it and possibly of much that will follow. He is not here because in pursuit of his ideals he is ceaselessly working in a far corner of India but I have no doubt that his spirit hovers over us and blesses our undertaking.

As I stand here, I feel the weight of all manner of things crowding around me. We are at the end of an era, and possibly even very soon we shall embark on a new age. My mind goes back to the great past of India, to the 5,000 years of India's history, to the very dawn of that history, which might be considered almost the dawn of human history, all this past exhilarates me and at the same time somewhat oppresses me.

Am I worthy of that past? And then I think also of the future, the greater future I hope, and standing on this sword's edge of the present between this mighty past and the mightier future, I stumble a little and feel overwhelmed by this mighty task.

We have come here at a strange moment in India's history. I do feel that there is some magic in this moment of transition from the old to the new something of that magic that one sees when the night turns into day and even though the day may be a cloudy one it is a day after all and the clouds roll away and we can see the sun later on. And because of all this I find a little difficulty in addressing this House and putting all my ideas before it and I feel also that in this long succession of thousands of years I see the mighty figures that have come and gone and I see also that long succession of our colleagues and comrades who have laboured for the freedom of India and are no more.

Because this is a Constituent Assembly I think also of the various Constituent Assemblies that have gone before, of what took place at the making of the great American nation when the fathers of that nation met and fashioned out a constitution which has stood the test of these many years—more than a century-and-a-half—and of the great nation which has been built up on the basis of that constitution.

And my mind goes back to the mighty revolution which took place also over 150 years ago and to that Constituent Assembly that met in that gracious and lovely city of Paris which has fought so many battles for freedom and the difficulties that that Constituent Assembly had how the King and other authorities came in its way and still it continued.

The House will remember that when these difficulties came and even lodging and a place to meet were denied to that Constituent Assembly they betook themselves to an open tennis court and met there and took the oath which is called the Oath of the Tennis Court. They continued to meet in spite of kings and in spite of others.

and did not disperse till they had finished the great task they had undertaken

I trust that it is in that solemn spirit that we, too, are met here and that we, too, whether we meet in this chamber or other chambers or in the fields or the market place, we shall go on meeting and continuing this work till we complete it

And then, the more recent revolution which give rise to a new type of state, the revolution that took place in Russia and out of which has arisen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—another mighty country which is playing a tremendous part in the world, and not only a mighty country, but for us in India a neighbour country

And so our mind goes back to all these great examples and we seek to learn from their successes and to avoid their failures. Perhaps we may not be able to avoid all failures because some measure of failure is inherent in human effort. Nevertheless, we shall advance, I am certain, and in spite of obstruction and difficulty achieve and realise the dream that we have dreamt so long

I will not go into the argument about monarchy and the rest, but obviously we cannot produce a monarchy for India out of nothing. It is not there. If it is to be an independent and sovereign State we are not going to have external monarchies. It must inevitably be a republic. It is conceivable, of course, that a republic may not be democratic but all our past is witness to the fact that we stand for democratic institutions. Obviously we are aiming at democracy and nothing less than democracy. What form of democracy, what shape it might take is another matter

Democracies of the present day, many of them in Western Europe and elsewhere, have played a great part

in the world's progress. Yet it may be doubtful if these democracies may not have to extend their content, change their shape somewhat before long if they have to remain completely democratic.

We are not going just to copy. I hope a certain democratic procedure or institution of so-called democratic countries. We may improve upon it. In any event whatever system of government we may establish here must fit in with the temper of our people and be acceptable to them. We stand for democracy.

It will be for this House to determine what shape we shall give to that democracy—the fullest democracy I hope.

The House will notice that in this resolution although we have not used the word democratic because we thought that it was obvious that a republic contains that word and we did not want to use unnecessary and redundant words—we have done something much more than use the word. We have given the content of democracy in this resolution and not only the content of democracy but the content if I may say so of economic democracy.

Others may take objection to this resolution on the ground that we have not said that it should be a socialist republic. I stand for socialism and I hope India will stand for socialism and that India will go towards the constitution of a socialist State and I do believe that the whole world will have to go that way. The form of socialism again is another matter for your consideration but the main thing is that in such a resolution if in accordance with my own desire I do put in that we want a socialist State we put in something which may be agreeable to many and may not be agreeable to some and we wanted this resolution not to be controversial in regard to such matters. Therefore we have laid down not

theoretical words and formulae but rather the content of the thing we desire

We are going to make a constitution for India and it is obvious that what we are going to do in India will have a powerful effect on the rest of the world. Even to-day, on the verge of freedom as we are, India has begun to play an important part in world affairs. That part will grow and therefore it is right that the framers of our constitution should always bear this larger international aspect, too in mind. We approach the world in a friendly way. We want to make friends, in spite of the long history of conflict in the past with England also.

BRITISH COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

[Breaking a tradition of 25 years Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Vice President Indian Interim Government instead of the Viceroy as the head of the State addressed the annual general meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India in Calcutta on December 16 1946 In his 90-minute extempore address Pandit Nehru referred to Free India's relationship with other countries with special address on British Commercial interests and industries in future India]

Mr President and Gentlemen I am grateful to you for the invitation and for the opportunity you have provided me of meeting you It was not an easy thing for me to be present in Calcutta at the present moment But I attached importance to this invitation I appreciated it I felt that I should come even at the cost of leaving some other work undone

We meet here in this way for the first time And in the past there has been a very deep gulf between us We have been on different sides of the barrier or the barricades Therefore it is all the more necessary that we should meet and try to understand each other

Even though unfortunately we do not agree on every point I have no doubt if we do meet each other we would be able to agree on some points because after all we represent different forces different historical tendencies and all manner of new things that are happening in India to-day as well as all over the world

But I am concerned more with India. This is a tremendous period of transition going on. An old age is coming to an end and a new age is going to begin. Whenever such things happen there is bound to be plenty of upsetting factors and troubles, and if we can get over the change with complete peace that would be good for us.

You know that there have been difficulties at the Paris Peace Conference and at the U N O Assembly they have come to grips with the present-day issues. Therefore, it was not odd or unusual that we have conflicts here, and we have clashes.

The point however is that India is to-day very dynamic in spite of the ills you see all around. To be dynamic is good. It is a sign of life. Where there is life there is hope and more especially after long, long period of what might be broadly said to be a static period. Progress in no period of human life is really static. Nevertheless, India had a slow-moving period. Many things were not only left undone but were prevented from being done.

Suddenly we are faced with an accumulation of problems not merely political, more especially economic. We have to hurry to solve them, but more particularly, if we do not solve them threaten to solve us. Such is the state of India to-day, possibly of the world. There appears to be a race between the forces of construction and destruction, between forces that tend towards making a better, happier and a stabler world and those rapidly drifting towards a fresh disaster. You can take all this according to your own temperament.

With this background the problem of India can be seen more closely and from a proper perspective. It is not an isolated problem. If you have strikes in India to-day you have bigger strikes in more industrially advanced

countries of the world. If you have political and economic conflicts in India to-day you have political and economic conflicts in other parts of the world at least in a good part of Europe.

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You see conflicts between different viewpoints and different ideologies. I wonder how many of you approve of the domestic social policy of the present British Government. Many may not approve of their policy and yet they are having their policy with the goodwill of a large number of the people of England. And if some of us want to have a similar policy in economic and domestic sphere it is not just that Indians as a whole approve this economic point of view but a large number of Indians want it.

People talk about Capitalism and Socialism. You Mr. President mentioned about the charge of exploitation and the rest. It is understandable that such a charge would not be welcome. But looking at this matter it is not a question of calling names calling somebody bad or good. What may be good at one time may be bad in another time.

We see in the relations of England and India a strange historical process working sometimes more or less to the good and sometimes for bad. Very probably our approaches are different. Necessarily our conclusions will also be different.

Whenever there is a long conflict between two peoples and two countries there is bound to be good or bad results. We have to balance them. Inevitably the Englishman looks upon it from a certain point of view but the Indian from another more particularly when two countries come into intimate contact and when there are frequent conflicts.

We need not go into the past too much, expect to realise that the Indian viewpoint in regard to these matters is obviously very different from the English point of view, whether you agree or do not, that holds the mind of India and that is going to influence India unless a mental and psychological change takes place

One thing is obvious Very soon matters pertaining to India will be decided in India and by Indians You admit this and the world knows that There is no other way out of it We have arrived at a stage when we like the change-over to be rapid Some people feel that it should be rapid, others feel that there is danger in the change-over being rapid As a matter of fact, all such change-overs cannot be delayed for the simple reason that if you delay these you would neither be clinging to the old or to the new, you will remain in a perilous position

The picture of India to-day is that by law and constitution she is as much in the same position as before But in fact, vast changes have taken place which have undoubtedly nullified in practice the effects of the law and the Constitution There is now a certain amount of vacuum Unless it is filled properly it tends to be filled improperly That is where the danger lies in a slowly drawn-out period of transition, especially when there is a background of conflicts as there is in India

The President of the Chamber in his address has dealt with a number of important matters And yet in a sense they are relatively minor matters in the larger context. I should like to deal with these matters if I could My difficulty is, however, for the very reason that we are in a period of transition

It is difficult to lay down the future with certainty In the past there was a certain static character But I have not the faintest notion now what will happen two

years hence except this that the present goes and something new comes in

One thing is obvious There is going to be a new independent India Her Government will be run by representatives of the Indian people What those representatives will be I do not know Naturally I shall try to influence things I may succeed in some cases I may not in others But really I do not know what will happen when these new forces are released These new forces will do what they think proper It may be our leadership will go So there is this feeling of uncertainty about the future That does not frighten me in the least But unless you have a blue-print for the future you cannot work One can try to look at this future and try to work in so far as one can

The President has referred to certain matters like inflation strikes controls etc Well in regard to inflation I suppose there can be no two minds about its stoppage Inflation is bad it should be combated in every possible way So far as Government of India is concerned closest attention has been given to this matter and we have tried to counter it It is not an easy job We have tried to keep down the prices of many of the food stuffs

I can tell you I do not like this at all because I feel that the cultivators should have a good price Normally we have thought in terms of towns and cities. Normally incomes have gone to embellish our cities and towns Our rural areas have been awfully and dismally neglected It is one good result that the peasantry have been able to wipe off some of their debts. When they have been slightly better off many of us began to shout that something should be done to prevent that I should like them to be more better off Obviously Government would try to meet this danger of inflation so far as it can It is very earnest in this matter

Then, about controls There are controls, war-time controls and extension of war-time controls We all know that apart from the intrinsic desirability or otherwise of such controls, they have led a good deal of corruptions, both in Government services and outside, among the public They have encouraged black-marketing On the other hand, it seems without controls we may lead to further greater dangers

In the last two months if there had not been a rigid control of the food situation there would have been a terrible famine But generally, in the present situation we cannot do without these controls even at the risk of mis-use of these controls Such war-time controls should, as we can afford, go

The President in his address has referred to what he calls Governmental interference in commerce and industry The present-day industry and commerce all over the world are private enterprises In spite of that there is a strong tendency all over the world for Government control to come in Why is it so? There are forces at work of some sort of Socialism Even the British Conservative Party have gone on to some extent in this direction The fact of the matter is that the whole conception of the state has been changed

The original conception of the State was probably what might be called a Police State, that is, Government's strict duty was to protect people from external dangers and internal turmoil and the rest was left to the citizens themselves Government had no function in social and other amenities for the citizens Gradually, this conception of a Police State changed to that of the social Now, Governments indulged in vast schemes of social welfare, education, health, amusement, cultural, industrial and

scientific activities. It is all Governmental interference and you accept that.

The President has talked in his address about the horrible conditions of slums and bustees in Indian cities. It is a shame and a scandal. You talk of municipalities. Whether it is lighting or watering the streets the State comes in and all this is State interference, because life has become so complex and unless the State intervenes there is bound to be a disaster economic or otherwise.

Now in what measure a State will intervene may be a matter of argument. But it is obvious that the State will intervene more increasingly in the future because life has become complex.

Government of India till recently had a Planning Department, which was liquidated about some four months back. I do not know what the then Government of India thought about planning. So far there is no trace of planning. We have a number of projects hydro-electric schemes this and that. I believe if the schemes are put into operation in course of ten years some parts of the country will be electrified and power resources will increase tremendously. But one of the big scandals of India is the lack of power resources.

There can be no planning without Government interference and supervision. I personally hope even when there is a large measure of Governmental interference there will be fairly large scope to private enterprises. But the key industries must inevitably be controlled very closely by the State.

Talking of industry as it is in India today sometimes it seems to be a misnomer. Most of our so-called industrialists are in reality financiers that is not industrialisation. It is power that we want and there are big schemes and

that to be operated unless we have planning, we cannot achieve anything.

The President has referred to strikes. Naturally, it is our desire to avoid industrial turmoil when we are all anxious and agree to have greater production of foodstuffs and other commodities. It is rather an easy way of disposing of strikes to say that strikes are results of agitators exploiting strikers for political purposes. Strikes will give you a very good picture of what is happening in a country. They are a kind of barometer or thermometer telling you about the health of industrial organism. The fact that there is a large number of strikes you cannot ignore. Why is it so? Obviously, something has gone wrong. One single factor is this. Wages and salaries have risen, say from 100 to 200, the cost of living from 100 to 285. We have a very big gap between the cost of living and wages and it is that gap which causes hunger and distress, and ultimately strikes. The point is that all over India there is that gap to-day and unless the gap is bridged there will be industrial troubles. This can be bridged either by lowering the prices or by raising the wages. The point is that this gap has to be bridged. When we consider this matter there is the other side too.

The President has referred to the awful condition of the slums in the cities. I entirely agree, I have seen some of these bustees and slums in Bombay and Calcutta. Municipalities and Corporations have then duties in that matter.

But what about the employers? Obviously, they have a duty. I do not want wealth to be created in that way of human degradation. At the cost of human degradation a nation does not grow. I do not know the people who get the dividends at the cost of the slums. There seems to be something scandalous all about this.

I see today vast fortunes accumulated in the hands of a few. On the other hand a vast number of people are being faced with a heavy burden of prices. Now it has been a thing for me to wonder at because on the one side we are told that taxation during the war time was very heavy—there were income tax super tax etc.

Yet in spite of that tremendous heavy taxation we have been faced with very very large incomes in the hands of a few. Where do these vast incomes come from? It just baffles me. I should very much like for an enquiry into all this. It is not fair for a vast number for such things to happen. It is not good to have such enormous discrepancies between individuals in India. How it has happened I do not know. I cannot understand by any mathematical calculation.

How are we to meet this question of strikes? It is not possible or desirable just to use the power of the State. In fact it is difficult to crush strikes in that way for some times the consequences are very bad. There is at present a great deal of misguided trends in the labour world. Nevertheless it is true I think that the basic causes are economic and if they are dealt with properly we must approach the problem nearer the solution.

In regard to industrial disputes the right thing would be to devise a machinery for their equitable settlement which is fair to the parties concerned. I do not think there should be compulsion. There is a stronger feeling against compulsion. Some such machinery should be devised which at any rate makes it compulsory and attempts to solve the problem before the strike is resorted to.

This business of automatic strikes and lockouts is going to lead to more and more trouble. I think all employers must realise that it is no good ignoring the fact

that the only way to deal with labour is through organised labour or recognised trade union

Therefore, it should be to the interest of the employer to encourage trade unions. If they encourage trade unions, they will agree in a historical way. Naturally, there is a tendency on the part of the employer to dislike trade unions and to set up their own pet ones. This irritates the workers. A healthy trade union movement, co-operating with a machinery for settlement of disputes is the solution for the moment.

Relations of England and India, apart from political relations, have been relations of an industrial country with a colonial country. India has been a classical example of what could be called colonial economy, that is, where a country which produces raw materials to be converted into goods by another country and sold in a protected market.

Now, gradually that colonial economy has undergone some change and the British industry grew here under the protection of that colonial economy. Even now there are various safeguards, which although they are differently worded, are really discriminations. In fact, they are protections of British interests and industries in India.

There has been a great deal of objection to that in India. I believe in 1945 the question was raised by the Government of India and the Government of India wanted to remove those safeguards. But for some reasons or others higher authorities objected to that and postponed the matter. It is obvious that no Indian Government can possibly approve of putting up with any form of safeguards or any kind of protection for anybody.

It has got to go and it is bound to go. For example, in regard to shipping industry, the time is ripe when this colonial protection of which a considerable trace still

lingers has to go. That does not mean of course that Britishers have no place in Industry and commerce in India.

Undoubtedly any Indian Government has to consider every problem from the point of view and interest of her own nationals. Viewing that problem in that way there will be so much room left to private enterprises for Britishers and others. As a matter of fact, they will have much more to do than they do at present but with no safeguards.

Of course we will require capital goods from outside and many other things for our industry and commerce for our industry and commerce will increase. But obviously you will realise that normally speaking a free India will be anxious to further the interests of her nationals to make India as little dependent on external agencies in the economic sphere as possible and also to make her as self sufficient as possible and to raise the standard of the people as rapidly as possible. Gentlemen you should not misunderstand me. Everything that I have said does not represent the Government of India's views. It has got mixed up with my personal views.

So far as I am concerned I do not want that India should be aggressive in the economic sphere. I do not want India to be an aggressor country politically or economically. I want her to be an advanced country because economic aggression leads to conflicts with other countries. I want Indian trade to develop but not in that aggressive spirit or not by creating any vested interests in other countries. I dislike imperialism political or economic. I do not want my own country to indulge in it because I think this economic rivalry leads to conflict and war with other countries. In order to avoid it

conflicts I want India to develop on more co-operative lines

Because of colonial economy the position of British commercial interests in India has been a very peculiar one. During the last 150 years it has been all mixed up with political and economic matters and there has been overlapping even with ecclesiastical matters. Gradually, the political aspect is being separated from the commercial aspect. Even now you will see the political aspect there.

Mr. President, you have referred to the legislative work that your community has been doing. Now, it has been given a tremendous over-representation in Bengal and Assam. What does it signify except the patent fact that the colonial economy has been translated into the political sphere. A non-national has not even a vote in other countries. But here, not merely a vote, but 10,000 votes have been given to non-nationals.

I am not well acquainted with the politics of Bengal. But still I know something, how this factor has influenced the politics of Bengal to a very great extent in the formation and non-formation of governments here. Obviously, this has raised a considerable prejudice against even the industrial and commercial activities of the Britishers here, because they are connected with political aspects or economic-political aspects. But in the long run this kind of things are harmful.

Christianity has flourished tremendously in India because of the fact that it has been associated with the political aspect of the British rule. In Southern India, Christianity has more or less a natural growth. In the North, it has become practically a symbol of British domination.

Your commerce and industry appears so much in political garb that it cannot be judged on merits. In

future obviously it cannot have a political garb. Naturally economical India will see and create its own industries and controls and there is bound to be some difference between nationals and non nationals. Of course the non nationals will have their rights and it was open to them to become nationals.

The President has referred to provincialism. I entirely share his views. But when he says that this country however it may be divided for political purposes is commercially one I cannot understand. It is quite conceivable that if the country is politically divided there might be tariff barriers, which cause a great deal of obstruction in the way of industrial and commercial development of the country as a whole.

Many of you are anxious to know what the future of India will be not only for wider reasons but for personal reasons also because it affects my personal life as it affects yours from different points of view. In fact many of our personal lives are bound to be affected with this political development.

The future is both clear and unclear clear in the sense that it is going to be the future of an independent India but what the contents of that independence will be are not clear. What relations an independent India will have with other countries one can guess. I have no doubt that our relationship will be in closest terms with other countries.

With England our relationship is very peculiar. On the one hand there is a long history of conflict with her. On the other hand during 150 years of British rule all manner of visible and invisible contacts have grown up with her. These contacts cannot be cut off suddenly.

Well so far as relationship with England is concerned unless the break comes in such a way as to poison

the future this relationship will continue in a hundred ways that flourish culturally and linguistically. So, it all depends on the friendship that she gets from other countries.

India would befriend the countries which are more friendly towards her. This is a natural sequence in world affairs. And in the context of the world of to-day, if I may say so, India is in a very strong position. To put it crudely, in the context of the world to-day, politically or commercially or for trade purposes, she is in a strong bargaining position. India is geographically so situated that little can happen in the whole of South-East Asia without India's concurrence. Whether it is a question of defence or trade or anything India comes into the picture. Internally, India is potentially strong, economically strong even now. More so the moment the change-over is complete, India jumps forward and takes her place.

I do not want India to be a supplicant country. Even if we consider the industrial might of U S A. I say India is in a stronger position. It is likely that the problems of U S A. will require accommodation with India. We can hold out longer. Even if we cannot hold out, there are plenty of other hands to grasp. We want to take the help of England's hand, knowing fully well that many of our countrymen will not want us to do so, because they are for the moment full of a past legacy of hatreds and conflicts. I say once we get over this matter, thinking more of the future and not looking into the past, this impression will also go out of people's mind. Then we can go together.

XIV

TO THE STUDENTS

[Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the All India Students Congress Session on December 31 1946 at New Delhi made a fervent appeal to the students for unity and discipline The speech is given below]

Comrades,

Here in India we live in the midst of conflict and struggle though for the moment that conflict and struggle may not be so obvious to an outsider (Obviously when a country is deprived of its freedom there are only two choices left to it one is to submit ignobly and the other is to struggle and fight for freedom There is no middle course and a country that finally submits ceases to have any soul or spirit The ways of conflict and struggle may be many but the point is that the spirit of the people should be in a continual state of revolt against submission How that revolt takes shape or what methods it employs is a matter to be decided in view of the circumstances.

So in India to-day you see a curious picture of some of us being associated with the Government of India some of our colleagues running provincial government and yet at the same time in a sense we are still the Opposition in so far as we have to carry on the struggle for freedom

I do not know what the next few months may bring to us what steps the country may have to take in order to assert her freedom or to achieve it But one thing is certain that we are to-day in a process of struggle

Your idea of struggle apparently is shouting and marching in the streets. That may take place sometimes and other things may also take place sometimes but when a nation struggles, it does not merely shout. When two mighty forces come into conflict, there are many ways of struggle and I tell you that to-day in India the struggle for freedom is going on as intensely as it has ever gone on. You have to realise that fact and not wait supinely for some future time when an order is issued and you perform publicly in the market place or in the fields or factories. The nature of the struggle may be different to-day. It may change its shape and form tomorrow. We are functioning differently because our nation has grown.

We are, it is often said, on the verge of complete independence. So we are. But remember this, that when you are often right near the walls of a citadel which you hope to capture very soon, still the walls may intervene and you may have to face your stiffest fight there. But the point is that you must not think of the struggle merely in terms of demonstrations or public activities of that type. If you work, if you organise, that is part of the struggle, if you refuse to submit to injustice, that is part of the struggle.

The final climax of it may be something else but the final climax only comes when you have brought the struggle to a certain pitch. That struggle goes on to-day and though I am in the Government of India, I am as much part of that struggle and carrying on that struggle as I have ever been in my life.

In the conception of the present state of India you see that struggle in many shapes and forms. You see reactionary elements in India lining up with foreign elements and trying to impede our march forward. All

that becomes part of the struggle. So you must see the complete picture and prepare yourself to face that in an ordered, organised and disciplined way.

We must function as an organised nation and not lose ourselves in petty squabbles.

The present session of the Students Congress is a special occasion because I understand that out of this conference is coming some kind of preparatory meeting which would lay the foundations of an All Asian Students Conference.

One of the most important changes coming over the world is the renaissance of Asia. We are going through all manner of pain and trouble and struggles but the fundamental thing one sees about the countries of Asia is this new vitality, this dynamic personality of the ancient mother of continents functioning again.

I should like you to give this message to our friends from abroad, not only of freedom for Asia but of the unity of Asia. And that unity, not a unity against any other continent or country or people—unity certainly in our own defence if necessary arises but unity in friendly, peaceful living, in setting an example to others as to how we can combine modern progress with the ancient culture which gave poise and equanimity to the countries of Asia.

India, it so happens, has been situated in the centre of both the Eastern group and Western group. Whether from the point of defence or trade or commerce or culture, India inevitably becomes the pivot and it is right therefore we should take the lead on this occasion in trying to develop an inter-Asian student movement. I congratulate you upon it and I hope that you will help by this process in bringing about that unity of Asia which we desire.

My advise to you is to divert your energies towards doing constructive work rather than getting offices for personal aggrandisement.

I am very much pained to see factionalism and lack of discipline among students. It would not matter if differences were on fundamental principles, because in a big country like India there should be unity in diversity, but I feel that personal ends alone and not the larger good of the organisation are at the back of the dispute.

I have been told many times that the students are ready to advance like an army the moment they get my orders. But I want to remind them that the first essentials of an army are unity and discipline which, I am sorry to say, I do not find in them. A great responsibility has to fall on your shoulders very soon. Are you capable of bearing it? Be prepared for that —*Jai Hind*

DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE

[Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru presided over the 31st Session of the Indian Science Congress held at New Delhi on January 3 1947 and following days Prominent Scientists from Russia America and European countries attended the session which was a grand success The following is Pandit Nehru's presidential speech]

Science is not merely an individual's search for truth. It is something infinitely more than that if it works for the community. For a hungry man or a hungry woman truth has little meaning. He wants food. For a hungry man God has no meaning. He wants food. India is a hungry starving country and to talk of truth and God and even many of the fine things of life to millions who are starving is mockery. We have to find food for them. Clothing housing education and health are absolute necessities of life that every man should possess. When we have done that we can philosophise and think of God. So science must think in terms of the four hundred million persons in India. Obviously you can only think in those terms and work along those lines on the wider scale of co-ordinated planning.

I hope that the Science Congress will devote itself to this task and not wait merely for Government to take action. Government may be good and may be bad but Governments normally are very slow and the only thing

that moves them is some immediate public outcry which affects their future indirectly. Therefore I should discourage in scientists a reliance always on what Government may or may not do. Naturally, they have a right to expect things from Government. Speaking just as one member of the present Government of India-speaking, may be, partly for my colleagues but largely for myself—I may say that we are intensely interested in the scientific development in India and we shall do everything in our power to encourage scientific research. We should like to tap all the latent scientific talent in the country and to give it opportunities for growth and service to the community. I should like to assure the science Congress and our friends who have come from abroad that we want to co-operate with science abroad in every way to advance the cause of peace in the world, peace and progress of humanity.

But in giving that undertaking and pledge I want to make it perfectly clear that we will not co-operate in the ways of war. What the future will bring I do not know. I can neither foretell the future nor have I any authority to bind my country down to what it may or may not do in future, but in these days so soon after the last war, when people again think of wars and when scientists are yoked in to work in preparation for future wars. I think it is desirable and necessary that men and women of science should also think about the way they are often misused and exploited for base ends. I should make it clear that they do not want to be so exploited.

Atom-bombing of Hiroshima is horrible beyond words. Science has its destructive side and constructive and creative side. Both have gone on side by side and both still go on. No one knows which ultimately will triumph. Hiroshima became a symbol of this conflict.

and in spite of all the decisions of the Atomic Energy Commission of UNO—and we welcome those decisions of course in so far as they go that doubt remains in one's mind as to where we are speeding. On the other hand apart from the atomic bomb aspect of it obviously we are on the threshold of a new age in the sense of enormous power resources being put at the disposal of humanity and the community. Will this new age change—and I think it will change—enormously the whole structure of society? My mind goes back to the time when gunpowder burst upon the world. Gunpowder at any rate pushed the middle ages away completely and fairly rapidly and in course of time brought or helped to bring about a new political and economic structure. Of course there were many forces at work nevertheless gunpowder did produce that powerful effect on society and ultimately out of that feudal order gradually a new capitalist order developed. Now I wonder whether this so-called atom bomb is not also the herald of a new age of a new structure of society which has to be established in order to fit in with present conditions. I myself am convinced that there is going to be no very great progress either in science or in other ways unless certain fundamental changes take place in the social structure.

I say that and yet I know how difficult it is for a line to be drawn between scientific war for peace and for war. This great force (atomic energy) that has suddenly come through scientific research may be used for war or may be used for peace. We cannot neglect it because it might be used for war. Obviously in India we want to develop it and we will develop it to the fullest. Fortunately we have eminent scientists here who can do so. We shall develop it I hope in co-operation with the rest of the world and for peaceful purposes.

It is a tragedy that when this enormous forces are available in the world for beneficent purposes and for raising human standards to undreamt of heights, still people should think of war and conflict and should still maintain economic and social structures which promote monopoly and create differences in standards of wealth between various groups and peoples. It is a tragedy whatever other people might say about it, and no men of science should accept it as a right ordering of events.

So in India to-day, while we are busy with our own political and economic problems inevitably we have begun to think more and more of the vaster problems that face us and in the decision of which science must inevitably play a big part.

I invite all of you who are present here young men and old in the field of science in India, to think in these larger terms of India's future and become crusaders for a rapid bettering of the four-hundred millions in India and crusaders of peace in India and the world and international co-operation for peace and progress.

Many of us are tremendously worried, naturally, with some events that are happening in India, internal conflicts and the like, many of our friends from abroad must also have their minds filled with the picture of conflict in India because that conflict, bad as it is in India, is magnified a hundredfold when it crosses the seas and people seem to think that the sole or main occupation for people in India to-day is to cut each other's throats.

While conditions are in some respects not at all good, still when we think of the brighter picture in India that people who after having been largely static for many years are in motion to-day, then those conflicts become rather

NATIONAL PHYSICAL LABORATORY

[In laying the foundation stone of the National Physical Laboratory at New Pusa about 5 miles from New Delhi on January 4 1957 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered the following speech. Many delegates attending the Science Congress were present at this function.]

Presently we may have to follow other countries in having a great Atomic Energy Research Institute also not to make bombs I hope. But nevertheless I do not see how we can lag behind in this very important matter because Atomic Energy is going to play a vast and dominating part. I suppose in the future shape of things. Already it is known that Radio-active elements that are produced can be used for therapeutic purposes but in regard to other matters too it will make power mobile and this mobility of power can make industry develop anywhere. We will not be tied up so much by the accidents of geography. Atomic Energy may help cottage industry even.

Obviously if you have Atomic Energy at your disposal or some form of it you can work in small units much more easily effectively and efficiently so that all these very practical aspects of it make it incumbent on us to think in terms of Atomic Energy Research on a big scale—apparently it cannot be done on a small scale.

I hope that the National Physical Laboratory which will soon begin functioning here will be followed by numerous other research institutes and laboratories and a

stream of earnest young men and young women will go through it and come out to serve the country and the world

During the last few months I have been watching and reading about these schemes of various types of laboratories being set up in different parts of India and I have also to some extent scrutinised other vast schemes—river valley schemes, projects, barrages, dams, etc. Some of them bigger in scope than the Tennessee Valley Scheme—and my mind has been fired by the picture that I saw emerging out of these great schemes. In the turmoil of the present, what seemed to me far more important and essential was laying the foundations of this great development of India

We talk too much of money or lack of money and yet, as everybody knows when people are bent on doing something, certainly when they are bent on carrying on a war, there is never lack of money. It is only in regard to constructive schemes that people talk of lack of money. I am quite convinced in my mind that lack of money must not be allowed to come in the way of any scheme which develops India

We must train our boys and yet I have had cases before me often enough of very competent youngmen who have done well in universities later for lack of opportunity drifting to some very secondary job, they go into some executive services, probably thinking that they will get a little more security there. The country loses talent which really could be used to better advantage than sitting in office and doing some utterly unnecessary work

There is a great deal to be done to train people but we have at the same time to offer opportunities to those who are being trained to do work

In India we possess very little in the way of data or statistics and we require a tremendous development of the branches collecting data in regard to the 400 million people of India. At the same time we cannot just stop waiting for data to be collected before we can do something. We have to start doing something and the essential thing to do therefore is to start having these research institutes and at the same time lay the foundations for the development of large scale power. Whatever we do we shall require huge power resources in India. At present this huge country has very little power resources at her disposal. There is tremendous power potential no doubt. It can be said with confidence that India is one of the richest countries in the world in regard to her mineral resources her man power and even in regard to her potential power resources so that we have everything at hand. The question is how we can yoke all these things together.

All this will rapidly change the whole face of India. Science had in the past changed the face of society considerably probably very largely unconsciously and to some extent consciously. But to-day it is setting about changing society deliberately and consciously.

We in India had many difficulties to face. Nevertheless I do not think that we cannot get over them rapidly. I believe it is easy to go ahead in India very fast and when I say so I am not thinking merely of the technical difficulties of the problem which are obvious but the far greater difficulty about which possibly scientists do not think much but I have to think a lot and that is the reaction of everything that we do on the large masses of people in the country. Unless we have their goodwill and their partial understanding at least in what we are doing we shall not go very far. They will stop

us and become a brake That is why it becomes necessary to make a deliberate approach to make the masses of the country understand what we are going

Many of us are still rather restricted and hidebound in our outlook in regard to many things, notably social customs and the like Science in the past had helped to some extent at least, to rid mankind of the terror of the gods Much remain still to be done in that matter, but certainly we would like science to help in that respect in India And then at the same time there is perhaps a greater terror even than the terror of the gods, and that is the terror of man himself In that science and the scientific approach may also help a great deal

Sometimes I feel a little sorry that I am not much younger than I am when I think of this picture of the New India growing up, these vast changes impending, of young boys and girls growing up in this atmosphere with this new training and outlook and building this great structure about which so many of us have dreamt so long I feel a little sorry that I may not be here to see it in it's full glory Nevertheless, it is glory enough to take part in the building and to many of us that satisfaction has come in full measure And I rejoice to-day at helping in this very small way at the beginning of this great undertaking

BRITISH STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 6

[Pandit Nehru moving the Working Committee's resolution recommending acceptance of the British Government's statement of December 6 made the following speech in the A I C C Session at New Delhi on January 5 1947. A long debate followed and after the concluding speech of Nehru the resolution was put to vote next day and passed by a big majority.]

Friends and Comrades I am now going to bring before you a resolution recommending acceptance of the British Government's statement of December 6. It is a resolution drafted before Mahatma Gandhi at Comilla and passed by the Working Committee. I know there is controversy over the matter. Still I would request you to consider the resolution in the light of the present circumstances and accept it. This is the resolution I move for your consideration and acceptance.

The A I C C having considered the events that have taken place in the country since the Meerut session of the Congress in November last the statement on December 6 1946 and the statement of the Working Committee on December 22 1946 advises congressmen as follows —

The A I C C endorses the statement of the Working Committee of December 2 1946 and expresses its agreement with the view contained therein.

While the congress has always been agreeable to making a reference to the Federal Court on the question

of the interpretation in dispute, such a reference has become purposeless and undesirable owing to recent announcements made on behalf of the British Government. A reference could only be made on an agreed basis, the parties concerned agreeing to abide by the decision given.

"The A I C C is firmly of the opinion that the constitution for a free and independent India should be framed by the peoples of India on the basis of as wide an agreement as possible. There must be no interference whatsoever by any external authority, and no compulsion of any province or part of a province by another province. The A I C C realises and appreciates the difficulties placed in the way of some provinces, notably Assam and the N W F P and the Sikhs in the Punjab, by the British Cabinet's scheme of May 16, 1946, and more especially by the interpretation put upon it by the British Government in their statement of December 6, 1946. The Congress cannot be a party to any such compulsion or imposition against the will of the people concerned, a principle which the British Government have themselves recognized.

"The A I C C is anxious that the Constituent Assembly should proceed with the work of framing a constitution of a free India with the goodwill of the parties concerned and, with a view to removing the difficulties that have arisen owing to varying interpretations, agree to advise action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure to be followed in the Sections.

"It must be clearly understood however, that this must not involve any compulsion of a province and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardized. In the event of any attempt at such compulsion a province or part of a province has the right to take such

action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned. The future course of action will depend upon the developments that take place and the A.I.C.C. therefore direct the Working Committee to advise upon it whenever circumstances so require keeping in view the basic principle of provincial autonomy.

Friends it is a simple straightforward resolution. There is no sign of weakness in it. If there was the least suspicion of weakness, I would not have brought it before you or commended it to your acceptance.

The main question before us is how to keep the Constituent Assembly alive and extract from it the greatest possible good for the country. By accepting the statement of December 6 we would leave the door open for the League to enter and put forward their point of view. If we do not accept that statement it will give an opportunity to the British Government to change or withdraw their earlier statement of May 16 with the result that the Constituent Assembly may be changed radically.

Obstacles have been put in the path of the Constituent Assembly in the past. We have overcome them and we should do everything in our power hereafter to prevent attempts to sabotage this great weapon which we can use to our advantage.

In my speech at Meerut I had referred to the crisis towards which we inside the interim Government were fast moving. The attitude of the British Government was adversely affecting the work of the Interim Government. Those statements and the fears I had expressed then were now coming true. At the time of my earlier speech the British Government could not have claimed success in impeding our work but now the British Government are in a position to make that claim and substantiate it. The

British Government's actions have created complications. A grave situation have been created and resolution before the House which have been prepared with great care and deliberation is a simple straightforward one meant to meet that situation.

The House is to decide whether to accept the statement of December 6 or not. This question has proved to be a headache. We are not in the habit of accepting things thrust upon us against our will. We were sorely tempted to accept the challenge contained in this statement and answer it with all the force at our command. But we realised the danger of allowing our emotions to over-power us.

Many forces have lined up against us. We should advance cautiously to meet and overcome these forces and it is this consideration that prompted the Working Committee to bring the resolution before the House.

The resolution accepts the statement. Some may feel that this is a confession of weakness. I deny that our fight has taken on a new form with the meeting of the Constituent Assembly and our aim should be to see that the Assembly is not postponed or shelved. It has not yet begun to function in the fullness but I hope that when it meets after a fortnight it will begin to function as it should.

The significant point about the Assembly is not whether it is sovereign or not, but that it can not be dissolved by the British Government except by the use of force. When the British Government choose to use force in that way, then it will be time for us to decide how to face it. The primary point to bear in mind is that the Constituent Assembly has begun to function since December 9 and though it is not the Assembly of our ideals, yet it can be utilised as a weapon to achieve our

independence. Therefore it becomes absolutely essential and important to prevent attempts to postpone or shelve it. It has life in it and is capable of taking us far on the road to independence.

Our opponents has failed in their effort to shelve it and so has adopted the alternative of putting obstacles in the way and has issued the statement of December 6. Since 1919 we have depended entirely on our strength and have looked to the people of India and not to the British Government to achieve our objective.

We have no desire to add to the number of enemies ranged against us at this critical stage of our fight.

The League desired that the Constituent Assembly should not continue and that the country should revert to the order of things that prevailed eight or nine months ago. If that desire materialises we shall meet that situation as we think best. But all our energies should now be bent on going ahead with the Constituent Assembly with strength and firmness. It is possible that we may have to fight on different we should be prepared for that too. By passing this resolution we will show to the world that we do not intend to work behind closed doors. And in order to demonstrate our desire to keep the doors open we dodge many unpleasant things and postpone many decisions which we would like to take without delay. We do not want to give an opportunity to anyone to say that we have broken the British plan.

It is true that Assam had a mandat to oppose nations and groups and Assam could fight if it wanted. But I like to remind you that battles are won not by the personal courage of one or two but the co-operation of many thousands and by the mobilisation and right use of resources. At the present time our object should be to outmanoeuvre our opponents. The time may come

when Assam will have to fight, that fight will not be single-handed but will be waged with the whole of India behind them

In conclusion, again do I refer to my statement at Meerut that I did not know how long I and my colleagues would continue in the Interim Government. I still do not know how long we shall remain there. People have been talking of the Final fight for independence. I feel, however, that fight is even now in progress. Possibly that fight will have to be intensified in the near future but the present situation is such as to call for restraint of language and calm deliberation before action—*Jai Hind.*

INTERIM GOVERNMENT'S BUDGET

[Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Chief of the Indian Interim Government made a reference to the criticisms of the Interim Government's budget proposals in his inaugural address to the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry held in New Delhi on March 3 1947 and presided over by Lala Harasaranlal Panditji's speech is given below]

Friends It is not proper for me as a member of the Government to discuss the proposals of the Government here. You will no doubt discuss them with my colleague the Finance Member but I want to tell you that first of all you must view this question in its larger context. Secondly we want to proceed in this and other matters in the closest co-operation. We may agree or disagree that is a different matter but we want to proceed with as large a measure of co-operation of the people concerned as possible. I am sure the Finance Member will welcome any brilliant suggestion that you might put before him.

If you point out anything that can be done better or anything that is injurious to the country's cause I am sure that will produce an effect on him and he will think about it and consider how he can find some way which while it helps him to attain the end he has in view does the least injury to any interest. Nobody wants to injure any interests.

The whole conception is different

If we find we have committed a mistake, we will change that. After all, in so far as this is a popular Government, it cannot function away from the people. It must react to popular will. What the popular will is, it is difficult to find. But if I am a member of Government, obviously the moment I feel that I do not represent the popular will, and am going contrary to that will, whether as a representative in the Assembly or outside, I have no longer any place left in Government or in any office. That is obvious. But it is obvious also that this is a very difficult question before us. We have to balance so many factors and it is not an easy thing to find out immediately and clearly what is the hundred per cent right course to follow.

We have obviously a very big deficit to face. We have, probably, very large further demands coming from the Pay Commission, that will not only affect the Central Government but will have inevitable reactions on all Governments in India. How is all this to be done? It is a difficult matter you have to face. We can possibly shift the burden or try to shift it to the next generation or the next few years. This is rather a timid thing to do.

It is better to face the burden to-day and accelerate progress rather than simply carry on and follow what might be considered to-day a popular and pleasing policy and yet which may involve a greater burden to-morrow.

All these factors have to be considered. I am not expert enough to see the golden mean. I am merely placing before you various considerations that have to be borne in mind and especially I want you to appreciate that this Government or any Government, whether we are there or not, functioning at the Centre cannot but have a policy of encouraging industry and production in every possible way and we are certainly going to follow that. The idea

of planning as it has thus far been thought of and considered by many people—may be many amongst my audience, and even in the Government of India—is something that has nothing to do with planning. Planning means having some conception of the goal we are striving for of the kind of society we are aiming at trying to work up towards that end harmoniously and peacefully with as few upsets as possible laying down targets so that on all sectors we will advance simultaneously. If we advance on one sector and do not advance on others even that one sector will come to a stop and we will get bottle necks and difficulties. An attempt was made by the National Planning Committee to consider problems in their entirety and even the partial work the Planning Committee had done had been very helpful in that respect. I hope that the Government of India would before very long also take steps in regard to planning in that way.

About four months ago Government appointed a provisional Advisory Planning Board to just look at the things that had been done and produce some kind of a report to help us take the next step. The Board have submitted its report which is likely to be considered more fully before very long.

Government are pursuing numerous schemes of development at the present moment some of them bigger in extent at any rate than the T V A Scheme. We have been held up by various difficulties but we want to go ahead. We want to produce power in India because power is the basis of industry and we want basic industries without which we would always be dependent on others for our industrial growth. When some of you gentlemen talk vaguely or definitely about Government doing something which will crush industry which will prevent industry from growing and new schemes being undertaken

all this seems to me so very far removed from our conception of what industry must do. Why all these big schemes and planning and all that unless we want industry to grow in a big way in India and not in a petty way as it has more or less so far done?

The whole policy of Government in so far as I can speak for Government, is to encourage the industrialisation of India, to encourage the use of India's man-power in every possible way. When I talk about industrialisation, for my part I do not see any essential conflict between the development of cottage industries in India and the industrialisation of India. If we want to use all our man-power, it is quite impossible for us to absorb it in big industries for a very long time to come. Even if you have millions and millions coming into big industry yet tens of millions remain. Therefore, there is no essential conflict, though there may be a little difficulty and overlapping which can be adjusted.

Mahatma Gandhi has laid stress again, as he has often done, on using India's man-power to the best advantage. That ought to be axiomatic with us.

All this required most careful planning. It should be remembered that economic factors did not pay too much attention to boundaries. If we had the Damodar Valley Scheme, that affected at least two provinces—Bengal and Bihar. It was not a Bengal scheme or a Bihar scheme. If we had a River Commission for the Ganges Valley, it would affect three provinces. I hope that we will have River Commissions for our manoeuvres. So, when there is talk of planning of a particular type, it seems to me that we simply care not to do it. If we plan for the whole of India, the only right way to plan is to bring up the industrially backward parts so that there may be a balanced economy in all parts of India, not that a part of India

should be industrialised and a part remain agricultural that will be bad for India from every point of view not only for the respective parts but for all. It is acknowledged from the defence point of view that industry should be spread out.

Of course nobody is going to force down something against the will of a province a province will have to agree to and carry out that plan but the whole conception of planning if it is to become provincial will become ineffective. Here I may recall my address in Calcutta to the representative of British commerce and industry in India where I said that obviously India was changing rapidly and was coming into her own and other from outside India would have to fit into the structure that we produce in India. Nevertheless he thinks that in future there is no reason why there should not be a place in India for industrialists and businessmen from outside provided they fit into the picture we produce in India. Our structure will necessarily be based on considerations of India's progress of the benefit of the hundreds of millions who inhabit India. Within that scope I see a place for others also.

To-day I have the honour and privilege of addressing you on whom inevitably a greater burden than you may have borne in the past is going to fall in regard to India's progress. And yet much as I appreciate this honour I feel a certain difficulty. The difficulty lies partly in the fact that I am a little embarrassed as a member of the Government of India to speak to you about many matters that are before you and might interest you. Secondly the difficulty lies in the situation itself because it is a very difficult situation from every point of view whether political or communal but much more than all these from the economic point of view. I am no expert in financial and

economic matters, though necessarily I have to try to understand them and I have to try to come to conclusions about them. Sometimes it has struck me that perhaps those who are not experts might even understand a little more than the great experts. However, there is this advantage that I have tried and I do try to look at these problems always in their larger context.

At any time it is wrong to isolate a problem, much more so to-day when they are all interlocked, inter-related and over-lapping. And yet, when you come to think of the problems of India immediately, you run into other problems, international and world problems.

Obviously, the recent statement made by the British Prime Minister in regard to the imminent withdrawal of British power from India or rather the facts which made that statement made many people who have been moving in small grooves and not paying attention to these major factors, sit up.

The fact is that behind that statement—generous as it is because it is certainly a brave act to recognise facts occasionally and many people try to avoid recognising the most obvious facts—there is a certain dynamic quality about the Indian situation, whether you consider it political or economic, which cannot be ignored and which cannot be stopped. India is going ahead and in spite of all manner of setbacks you cannot stop India. On the political side of it the British Government recognise that and we must appreciate their wisdom and courage in doing so. But the fact remains, and from that fact flows other facts, that India as she is situated geographically and economically, is going to be the centre of Asia.

India inevitably becomes in a sense a hub of the future working of western, southern and south-eastern

Asia We cannot escape that It is inevitable and we have to live up to it

Recently Dr Evatt the eminent Foreign Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia delivered a speech in which he referred to South East Asia problems in which he realised that it was necessary and essential to have co-operation between the countries of South East Asia for the solution of Pacific problems in which he thought that the co-operation of India was also essential and he invited India for that co-operation That was a wise speech of Dr Evatt's and the general policy that the Australian Commonwealth has been following in regard to foreign policy has been a wise policy because it is thinking in realistic terms of the present it is thinking of these areas which are tied together Whatever their political differences may be they have to go together

It may be—in fact I think it is bound to happen—that as we progress more we shall have to consider in common with these other countries to the east south-east and west common policies and develop common lines of action because the economic factor and even the defence factor override these political boundaries and other considerations

So thinking of the problem of to-day in this larger context of India and playing this important role all over Asia and in world affairs we are only going to play that role obviously if we made good in our own country If we do not then others would play that role and we shall waste many years in mutual controversy and conflict

Possibly the most important and immediate problem to-day in India is to add to our output It seems to me that almost everything depends on addition to our production If we do not add to it we cannot even begin solving our problems We have vast schemes for dams

reservoirs, irrigation, hydro-electric works, scientific research and technical institutions, educational progress, etc

All these schemes are meant ultimately to help in the production of wealth in India, the production of a better type of human being and more wealth in India. All these schemes require resources. Where are they to come from? Ultimately we must depend upon our capacity to produce wealth in this country.

Even though production is the most important thing of the moment, even so, far too much stress had been laid on production in the past, it being thought that distribution would look after itself.

Distribution will not look after itself, in future if there is no proper distribution, no proper social justice, there are going to be conflicts on an enormous scale. Therefore distribution must be taken in hand and considered as a highly important factor. Nevertheless, I do say that production is the first thing to-day.

We have on the one hand demands, and generally speaking they are justifiable demands and right demands, from labour for a higher standard of living, for higher wages, etc. Examined separately, there are very few persons who can say 'no' to them or should say 'no' to them.

We want these higher standards. Yet, obviously, we can only get the standards for which we can pay for. We cannot create standards out of nothing and if we have not got enough, we simply cannot pay for them and a slow paralysis creeps into our structure.

Unfortunately we got into a vicious circle. Justifiable demands for wages led to strike. Strikes led to loss of production and less capacity to pay, and so although perhaps for the moment higher wages might be granted, the capacity to pay higher wages grew lesser and lesser.

We are facing a coal crisis. Though we are not facing a crisis similar to that in England nevertheless the coal position is very difficult. The result of all this is that the capacity to produce grows infinitely less and capacity to pay profits or wages tend to disappear. So it is necessary that all of us think about the question fundamentally and not only in terms of one's own profits or dividends or wages because this individual and separatist thinking in compartments is likely to lead to injury to all. I hope that it may be possible for representative of labour industry Governments and others concerned to meet together informally and have frank talks and try to find a way out and avoid any step being taken which may be injurious to all.

Obviously not only we in India but people all over the world are in a period of tremendous transition. When we are in such a period we cannot think on static lines. Nor also is it safe to think entirely on idealistic lines. One has to combine idealism with the practical aspects and to proceed by the method ultimately of trial and error.

The ultimate objective can only be the well-being of the four hundred millions of India. Nobody wants any group or class to suffer but if there is a conflict between the interests of one group and the larger community obviously the interests of the larger community must prevail.

XIX

AT LAHORE PRESS CONFERENCE

[Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a Press Conference on March 17, 1947 in Lahore on the conclusion of his three day tour of the riot affected areas in the Punjab and made the following speech]

Friends, I propose to speak about my Punjab visit at this time. I have seen ghastly sight and I heard of behaviour by human beings which would disgrace brutes. The first thing to be done is to put an end to every kind of disorderly action. The second thing is to protect and rescue people who may be threatened or are in danger, and more especially women, who have been abducted or moved by force, should be brought back to their homes. Then other problems like the care of refugees and rehabilitation have to be tackled.

I think that the present disturbances will be completely ended within a very few days. So far as I have been able to see the military are acting efficiently and with rapidity.

There is no need for panic whatever happens, much less to-day when the situation is more or less under control. The man who is panicky is a useless citizen and a danger to others.

Obviously all that has happened is intimately connected with political affairs. I propose to say nothing about that aspect except this that if politics are to be conducted in this way then they cease to be politics and become some kind of jungle warfare which reduces human habitation to the state of a desert. If there is a grain of intelligence in any person he must realise that what-

ever political objective he may aim at this is not the way to attain it. Any such attempt must bring as it has in a measure brought ruin and destruction.

Let people struggle for their political aim if they want to said Pandit Nehru but they can do so as human beings with a measure of human dignity. I am not enamoured of slogans anywhere. The Punjab is specially fond of slogans. There may be times when slogans are useful and good but when we are up against these hard facts which we face to-day they cease to have any meaning. In particular slogans cursing and denouncing others are peculiarly unbecoming and objectionable. Slogans with *murdabad* attached to them are not brief slogans but indicate the mentality of the coward and the bully.

India will go on along her distant path to her destined end of independence and nothing that happened is going to stop this. So I am sure will the Punjab as a part of India in spite of everything that has happened and that is likely to happen. Mighty historic forces are at work driving us all to that direction in spite of our own follies. It is upto us however to march ahead with dignity and head erect and not crawl like animals in the field.

The Punjab has had a hard lesson. Let it learn from it and not lose itself in a sea of hatred and reprisal which can only lead to mutual destruction and infamy. Let us all build together and prepare ourselves for the great things to come.

In conclusion I like to say a few words about the relief fund that has been started. An appeal has been issued in its behalf. I hope that this fund will be liberally subscribed to and that it will give help to the larger number of sufferers of these disturbances regardless of creed or any other distinction.

CALL TO ASIANS

[Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, inaugurating the Asian Relations Conference at New Delhi on March 23, 1947, made the following speech and was received with thunderous applause by more than thousand spectators and observers including about two hundred and thirty delegates from more than thirty countries of Asia, assembled in a huge pandal in the historic 'Puran Qilla']

I give this assurance to Europe and America that we have no designs against any body, ours is a great design of promoting peace and progress all over the world. We propose to stand on our own feet and co-operate with all others prepared to co-operate with us.

What has brought you here, men and women of Asia? Why have you come from the various countries of this Mother Continent of ours and gathered together in the ancient city of Delhi? Some of us, greatly daring, sent you invitation for this Conference and you gave a warm welcome to that invitation. And yet it was not merely that call from us but some deeper urge that brought you here.

We stand at the end of an era and on the threshold of a new period of history. Standing on this watershed which divides two epochs of human history and endeavour, we can look back on our long past and look forward to the future that is taking shape before our eyes. Asia after a long period of quiescence, has suddenly become important again in world affairs. If we view the millennia

of history this Continent of Asia with which Egypt has been so intimately connected in cultural fellowship has played a mighty role in the evolution of humanity. It was here that civilisation began and man started on his unending adventure of life. Here the mind of man searched unceasingly for truth and the spirit of man shone out like a beacon which lightened up the whole world.

This dynamic Asia from which great streams of culture flowed in all directions gradually became static and unchanging. Other peoples and other Continents came to the fore and with their new dynamism spread out and took possession of great parts of the world. This mighty Continent became just a field for the rival imperialisms of Europe and Europe became the centre of history and progress in human affairs.

A change is coming over the scene now and Asia is again finding herself. We live in a tremendous age of transition and already the next stage takes shape when Asia takes her rightful place with the other Continents.

It is at this great moment that we meet here and it is the pride and privilege of the people of India to welcome their fellow Asians from other countries to confer with them about the present and the future and lay the foundation of our progress and friendship.

The idea of having an Asian Conference is not new and many have thought of it. It is indeed surprising that it should not have been held many years earlier yet perhaps the time was not ripe for it and any attempt to do so would have been superficial and not in tune with world events. It so happened that we in India convened this Conference but the idea of such conference arose simultaneously in many minds and in many countries of Asia. There was a widespread urge and an awareness that the time had come for us peoples of Asia to meet

together, to hold together and to advance together. It was not only vague desire but a compulsion of events that forced all of us to think along these lines. Because of this the invitation we in India sent out, brought an answering echo and magnificent response from every country of Asia.

We welcome you delegates and representatives of China, that great country to which Asia owes so much and from which so much is expected, from Egypt and the Arab countries of Western Asia, inheritors of a proud culture which spread far and wide and influenced India greatly, from Iran whose contacts with India go back to the dawn of history, from Indonesia and Indo-China whose history is intertwined with India's culture, and where recently the battle of freedom has continued, a reminder to us that freedom must be won and cannot come as a gift, from Turkey that has been rejuvenated by the genius of a great leader, from Korea and Mongolia, Siam, Malaya and the Philippines, from the Soviet Republics of Asia which have advanced so rapidly in our generation and which have so many lessons to teach us, and from our neighbours Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma and Ceylon to whom we look specially for co-operation and close and friendly intercourse. Asia is very well represented at this conference and if one or two countries have been unable to send representatives, this was due to no lack of desire on their part or ours, but circumstances beyond our control came in the way. We welcome also observers from Australia and New Zealand because we have many problems in common, especially in the Pacific and in the south-east region of Asia, and we have to co-operate together to find solutions.

As we meet here to-day, the long past of Asia rises up before us, the troubles of recent years fade away, and

a thousand memories revive. But I shall not speak to you of these past ages with their glories and triumphs and failures nor of more recent times which have oppressed us so much and which still pursue us in some measure. During the past two hundred years we have seen the growth of eastern imperialism and of the reduction of large parts of Asia to colonial or semi-colonial status. Much has happened during these years but perhaps one of the notable consequences of the European domination of Asia has been the isolation of the countries of Asia from one another. India always had contacts and intercourse with her neighbour countries in the north-west, the north-east, the east and south-east. With the coming of British rule in India the contacts were broken off and India was almost completely isolated from the rest of Asia. The old land routes almost ceased to function and our chief window to the outer world looked out on the sea route which led to England. A similar process affected other countries of Asia also. Their economy was bound up with some European imperialism or other. Even culturally they looked towards Europe and not to their own friends and neighbours from whom they had derived so much in the past.

To-day this isolation is breaking down because of many reasons, political and other. The old imperialisms are fading away. The land routes have revived and air travel suddenly brings us very near to each other. The conference itself is significant as an expression of that deeper urge of the mind and spirit of Asia which has in spite of the isolationism which grew up during the years of European domination. As that domination goes the walls that surrounded us fall down and we look at each other again and meet as old friends long parted.

In this conference and in this work there are no leaders and no followers. All countries of Asia have to meet together on an equal basis in a common task and endeavour. It is fitting that India should play her part in this new phase of Asian development. Apart from the fact that India herself is emerging into freedom and independence, she is the natural centre and focal point of the many forces at work in Asia. Geography is a compelling factor, and geographically she is so situated as to be meeting point of Western and Northern and Eastern and South-East Asia. Because of this, the history of India is a long history of her relations with the other countries of Asia. Streams of culture have come to India from the west and east and been absorbed in India, producing the rich and variegated culture which is India today. At the same time streams of culture have flowed from India to distant parts of Asia. If you would know India you have to go to Afghanistan and Western Asia to Central Asia, to China and Japan and to the countries of South-East Asia. There you will find magnificent evidence of the vitality of India's culture which spread out and influenced vast numbers of people.

There came the great cultural stream from Iran to India in remote antiquity. And then that constant intercourse between India and the Far-East, notably China. In later years South-East Asia witnessed an amazing efflorescence of Indian art and culture. The mighty stream which started from Arabia and developed as a mixed Irano-Arabic culture poured into India. All these came to us and influenced us, and yet so great was the powerful impress of India's own mind and culture that it could accept them without being itself swept away or overwhelmed. Nevertheless we all changed in the process and India to-day all of us are mixed products of these various influences.

An Indian wherever he may go in Asia feels a sense of kinship with the land he visits and the people he meets.

I do not wish to speak to you of the past but rather of the present. We meet here not to discuss our past history and contacts but to forge links for the future. And may I say here that the conference and the idea underlying it is in no way aggressive or against any other continent or country? Ever since the news was published people in Europe and America have viewed it with doubt imagining that this was some kind of Pan Asian movement directed against Europe or America. We have no designs against anybody. Ours is the great design of promoting peace and progress all over the world. For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in Western courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own feet and co-operate with all others who are prepared to co-operate with us. We do not intend to be the playthings of others.

In this crisis in the world history Asia will necessarily play a vital role. The countries of Asia can no longer be used as pawns by others. They are bound to have their own policies in world affairs. Europe and America have contributed very greatly to human progress and for that we must yield them praise and honour and learn from them the many lessons they have to teach. But the west has also driven us into wars and conflicts without number and even now the day after a terrible war there is talk of further wars in the atomic age that is upon us. In this atomic age Asia will have to function effectively in the maintenance of peace. Indeed there can be no peace unless Asia plays her part. There is today conflict in many countries and all of us in Asia are full of our own troubles. Nevertheless the whole spirit and outlook of Asia at

peaceful, and the emergence of Asia in world affairs will be a powerful influence for world peace.

Peace can only come when nations are free and also when human beings everywhere have freedom and security and opportunity. Peace and freedom, therefore have to be considered both in their political and economic aspects. The countries of Asia, we must remember, are very backward and the standards of life are appallingly low. These economic problems demand urgent solution or else crisis and disaster might overwhelm us. We have therefore, to think in terms of the common man and fashion our political social and economic structures so that the burdens that have crushed him may be removed and he may have full opportunity for growth.

We have arrived at a stage in human affairs when the ideal of 'one world', and some kind of world federation seems to be essential, though there are many dangers and obstacles in the way. We should work for that ideal and not for any grouping which comes in the way of this larger world group. We, therefore, support the 'United Nations' structure which is painfully emerging from its infancy. But in order to have 'one world' we must also in Asia, think of the countries of Asia co-operating together for that larger ideal.

This Conference, in small measure represents this bringing together of the countries of Asia. Whatever it may achieve the mere fact of its taking place is itself of historic significance. Indeed this occasion is unique in history for never before was such a gathering met together at any place. So even in meeting we have achieved much and I have no doubt that out of this meeting greater things will come. When the history of our present times is written this event may well stand out as a landmark.

which divided the part of Asia from the future. And because we are participating in this making of history something of the greatness of historic events comes to us all.

This conference will split up into committees and groups to discuss various problems which are common concern to all of us. We shall not discuss the internal politics of any country because that is rather beyond the scope of our present meeting. Naturally we are interested in these internal politics because they act and react each other but we may not discuss them at this stage for if we do so we may lose ourselves in interminable arguments and the complications. We may fail to achieve the purpose for which we have met. I hope that out of this conference some permanent Asian institute for the study of common problems to organise interchange of visits and exchange of students and professors so that we might know each other better. There is much to enumerate all these subjects and it is for you to discuss them and arrive at some decisions.

We seek no narrow nationalism. Nationalism has a place in each country and should be fostered but it must not be allowed to become aggressive and come in the way of international development. Asia stretches her hand out in friendship to Europe and America as well as to our suffering brethren in Africa. We of Asia have special responsibility to the people of Africa. We must help them to their rightful place in the human family. The freedom that we envisage is not to be confined to this nation or that or to a particular people but must spread out over the whole human race. That universal human freedom also cannot be based on the supremacy of any particular class. It must be the freedom of the common man every where and full opportunities for him to develop.

We think today of the great architects of Asian freedom Sun-Yat-Sen, Zaghilul Pashia, the Ataturk Kemal Pasha and others, whose labours have borne fruit We think also of that great figure whose labours and whose inspiration have brought India to the threshold of her independence Mahatma Gandhi We miss him at this conference and I yet hope that he may visit us before our labours end He is engrossed in the service of the common man in India and even this conference could not drag him away from it

All over Asia we are passing through trials and tribulations In India also you will see conflict and trouble Let us not be disheartened by this, is inevitable in an age of mighty transition There is a new vitality and powerful creative impulse in all the peoples of Asia The masses are awake and they demand their heritage Strong winds are blowing all over Asia Let us not be afraid of them, but rather welcome them for only with their help can we build the New Asia of our dreams let us have faith in these great new forces and the dream which is taking shape Above all, let us have faith in the human spirit which Asia has symbolised for these long ages past.

FUTURE OF ASIA

[The two-day opening plenary session of the Asian Relations Conference at Puran Quilla presided over by Mrs Sarojini Naidu concluded on March 24 1947 Mrs Naidu left the presidential chair after about an hour as she was not feeling well leaving Sir S Radhakrishnan in her place Later at Sir S Radhakrishnan's request Pandit Nehru delivered the concluding speech of the day's session]

Friends and Fellow Asians I think all of us have felt during these two days that however far we might be separated from each other in point of distance or in other ways there is an essential unity about this continent and about our endeavour

If any person thinks that Asia is going to prosper in the future at the cost of Europe he is mistaken Because if Europe falls it will drag Asia too with it Just as if Asia remains fallen or had remained fallen undoubtedly it would have dragged Europe and other parts of the world with it you are going to have either war or peace in the world you are going to have either freedom or lack of freedom in the world Therefore when we think of freedom and progress in Asia we think of it in terms of other people's freedom also

If we look at it from any other point of view the economic point of view in future any nation or any continent which thinks in terms of building up its own prosperity at the cost of exploiting others is not likely to



Dressed with the robes presented by the Delegation from Uzbekistan Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru addressing the Inter Asian Conference at New Delhi

succeed. Undoubtedly, because of various special qualities and opportunities that they possess, the people of Europe prospered. I do not criticise them or condemn them for that. They have the qualities for that and they have succeeded. Nevertheless, their prosperity is based largely on the exploitation of various colonial and semi-colonial countries. To-day we have arrived at a stage when no country in Europe or elsewhere can base its prosperity on exploiting any other country. Indeed, there is no need for it because science offers us for the first time the opportunity to make the world prosperous all over, only if we work along the lines of science.

Otherwise of course we may see science only for purpose of destruction for which it is so often used. So today there is this problem before some of the countries of Europe who have got used to certain national economies which are based on the exploitation of other countries. There is this great problem before them, 'what to do?' They are still, unfortunately not reading the lesson of history of understanding current affairs, here and there in Asia, in Africa, may be elsewhere, to try to retain that type of economy by which they have profited in the past.

But looking at it from the narrowest view point of opportunism that has become an impossible undertaking for them. That will drag them down. It will cost them much more than they might gain even if they succeed, and they will not succeed in that. So the path of wisdom obviously is to give up that method of approach to these problems and think in terms of raising the general level, which will raise each person's level, and not trying to keep up the level of one nation at the cost of keeping down the level of another nation.

On the whole it is recognised to-day that it will not be possible for political domination of one nation by

another to continue. But it is not perhaps sufficiently realised that it should be equally undesirable for the economic domination of one nation by another to continue.

We have been wrapped up in political problems and on the political aspect of the national problem. In all countries more or less we have talked bravely of independence and all that and yet we know well enough that many a country that calls itself independent is in the economic clutches of various interests of other countries. Economic inter-dependence there is bound to be. No one can think in terms of isolationism to-day. But the point is that this practice of economic exploitation of one country by another either directly or what might be still more dangerous indirectly cannot continue and if it does continue then inevitably it brings I am afraid all manner of evils and conflicts in its train.

I am sorry that Prof. Bergmann, leader of the Palestine Jewish delegation thought that I treated him unfairly. It hurts me that anyone should think that I had done so to him. As you know it was my desire to avoid a controversy on this subject or in any subject affecting the internal politics of the various countries of Asia in the conference. Obviously apart from Palestine there are many other problems about which the representatives of two countries might differ or might come into conflict ideologically or otherwise. Even within a country there are problems enough. If we enter that question we would simply lose track of the real work we have here and lose ourselves in interminable arguments.

The question of Palestine is a highly important one. Palestine may be a small country on the map but undoubtedly it has become a very vital issue. The people of India as is well known during the last many years sympathised very greatly with the sufferings of Jews in

Europe and elsewhere Whenever any opportunity came before them, Indians raised their voice in their favour or, at any rate, expressed their hope that their sufferings might end

At the same time it is also clear, and I do not say this in any controversial spirit, that the people of India necessarily for various reasons into which I shall not go have always said that Palestine is essentially an Arab country and no decision can be made without the consent of the Arabs

We did hope, and we still hope that if the third party is removed or went from Palestine, it may be easier for the other parties more intimately concerned to settle their own problems among themselves however difficult they might be, because after all, that problem like all other problems, must be settled and if people do not settle them reasonably then they are settled unreasonably, nature does not long accept any unsettled problem Therefore, I hope that this question of Palestine itself and I say so with all respect to all concerned, our Arab friends and our Hebrew friends will be settled in co-operation between them and not by any appeal to, or reliance on any outsider *

* There was a breeze when the Jewish Delegation leader Prof Bergmann, the Arab League observer and Madam Karima, on behalf of Arab women, presented their respective cases forcefully on the most controversial Palestine question The matter, however, closed on the Chairman's appeal, with the Jewish and Arab Leaders shaking hands, on which Pandit Nehru complimented them

ASIAN RELATIONS ORGANISATION

[The nine-day session of the Asian Relations Conference held at New Delhi concluded on April 2 1947 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the closing plenary session of the Conference referred to the setting up of the Asian Relations Organisation and made the following observation]

Friends and Fellow Asians We have arrived at the end of this conference and the beginning of our work All these nine days we were preparing for the final act that is to say to lay the foundations of some kind of an organisation which would carry on the work of this Conference for otherwise if we had not done this this Conference itself would not have failed of course—because such an endeavour can never fail Nevertheless it would have been a bit of a failure if all this work should end without any effort really to continue it So today the plenary session of the Conference decided to start an Asian Relations Organisation They started it in a simple way without complicating the organisation with a Provisional General Council and with certain simple rules

The Provisional Council did me the honour of electing me its President Being irresponsible by nature not thinking too much of what might lay in store in future I accepted that office But it is a heavy burden that you have cast upon me a heavy burden because there are no known paths to trail except memories of long ago and

memories of today and hopes of the future That is enough, certainly yet we have to build this organisation from the bottom up It is not something which we merely have to carry on and in the building of this obviously we will not succeed unless all of us function together and co-operate together

It is remarkable how much unanimity there is amongst the varied people coming to the Conference from the four corners of this mighty continent When I think of this Conference in session and try to think of other conferences in Europe or America or elsewhere and compare the two, a certain hope and emotion fills me, that we are doing here is not a thing of the moment, just a big show for a number of people who have come from abroad, but that there is something deeper behind it which will carry us far not only in Asia but carry the message of Asia to other countries and other continents The age-long message of Asia has something of enormous value for humanity It has something of value for modern civilization in the West in spite of all the great advantages of the West, there has been something strangely lacking there and because of that lack they have to come to this pass when with all the good things of the world before them they yet quarrell and think in terms of war

It is astonishing that when, with the advantages of science before us, the whole world can be a happy prospering, co-operative common wealth, people should think of wars and of hating each other and of killing each other and devise tremendous engines of war and one people should suppress another We stood for the U N O before therein lay some hope of world co-operation and world peace and yet the United Nations have not functioned in an obviously united way. They have not set an example of peace and goodwill in their attempts to function

together I hope that we shall survive the struggle and lead to better and co-operative world

This mighty civilization of the West which have done so much in raising human standards yet somehow occasionally does something which makes us sink to the level of the beast. What is it that is lacking? I do not know. Perhaps it may be that something of the essential spirit old wisdom of Asia may help to provide that lack in Western civilization. In any event we of Asia should try first of all to hear our own message because we can not carry that message to others unless we know it ourselves. During these past ages and past generations we had forgotten ourselves what we were and what we are. We have to find ourselves again and when we have found ourselves others undoubtedly will find us also. We are now in the process of finding ourselves and therefore others are also in the process of realising that Asia is not merely something on the map is merely a place for the rivalry of various imperialisms or a place where there are markets to be exploited but that Asia consists of human beings with dignity human beings with a long past behind them and human beings who are going to have a great future.

We are going to have a great future. So in this sense we are always living in a period of transition. The world is not a static place yet sometimes there are some landmarks which divide one era from another and undoubtedly I think all the delegates who have come from abroad will agree with me that this Conference has been such a landmark in the history of Asia it is a landmark in the history of the world.

For a number of centuries Europe was the centre of history because it was the most dynamic creative and adventurous continent. What is happening today?

Europe will continue of course as a highly cultured and highly civilised continent, but it is obvious that the centre of events is shifting from Europe. On the one side it has shifted to America and on the other to Asia.

It is up to us to realise the part we have got up to play and train our respective nations for it. We can not, and must not think in terms of a small and unworthy part, a narrow, if I may say so, just purely nationalist part even. Although inevitably the nations of Asia must be nationalistic and must advance along the lines of their nationalism, today we are facing bigger problems and these cannot be solved by a mere nationalistic approach. Therefore, we are going to maintain contacts and meet together frequently so that we may evolve common plans of action.

I have no doubt at all that your coming here has been a vast education to the Indian people. They will feel in a friendly way towards your countries and I hope that in the same sense you who go away from here will carry with you friendly memories not of us few whom you have met but of the people of Asia.

Unfortunately the part of India you have seen most is New Delhi and perhaps a little of Old Delhi.

Mahatma Gandhi was telling you that this is not India. If you want to see India you have to go to hundreds of villages and see their poverty. It is not a pleasant sight, yet it is no good avoiding reality because it is unpleasant. That is India and the problem of India is the problem of the poverty of India, and unless we can get rid of that poverty, all else will be nothing. We are going to have political independence, of course. But if that independence has any meaning it must lead to the elimination and liquidation of this poverty in India. I talked of poverty in India but there are few Asian countries which are not cursed by these low standards and poverty.

It is a common problem for all Asia and therefore one of special things we have to undertake wherever we go is to tackle this problem of poverty of raising the standards of the people and trying to learn from each other's experience. This organisation that we have established I trust will help us in hearing of each other's failures as well as successes. The new Provisional General Council has made a recommendation to all national units to start academies or schools for Asian studies. It is for the delegates when they go back to give effect insofar as they can to that recommendation.

We propose to have in Delhi such an academy which really would be in the nature of big university and I appeal to the people of Delhi especially and the people of India generally to take it up quickly because the burden is going to fall upon them.

You read in the newspapers of the troubles we are having in India and we sometimes read in newspapers of the troubles you are having in your countries. There is hardly a country which is devoid of trouble and conflict. Perhaps that is a legacy of the war, perhaps it is an inevitable consequence of having to pass through this period of transition.

What is happening in India is bad enough and those of us who have to shoulder responsibility for this find it a heavy enough burden. Yet do not imagine for a single instant you who come from abroad or you who live in this country, that this trouble and conflict that is taking place in India is anything that frightens us. We are having trouble we may have more trouble but big things are happening in the world in Asia and in India and when ancient empires are uprooted the ground shakes.

You cannot have the birth of complete freedom without the labour pains that accompany every birth. So

while we regret what is happening and we try to put an end to it, to find a peaceful way of progressing, we also realise that sometimes it is inevitable that this kind of thing happens. And we have to face it and try to conquer it as undoubtedly we shall, and as undoubtedly you will wherever you may come from. So I want you to face these difficulties and troubles in Asia as elsewhere, with confidence in yourselves and in the future of your country and of Asia.

VIII

FUTURE OF THE INDIAN STATES

[The following speech was delivered by Pandit Nehru at the Annual Session of the All India States Peoples Conference at Cwalior on 18th April 1947]

Mr President Friends and Comrades when I think of Sheikh Abdulla (President elect of the session) behind prison bars I hang my head in shame. All I can say now is that Kashmir is like a flame in my heart. Some day it will bring forth some result. At this critical juncture we should not lose our temper as it has to be viewed as a part of a bigger whole and not individually. There are important decisions to be made. The time is past for passing resolutions and expressing views we have to chalk out a line of action and then follow it. Mere expression of sentiments is of no use at all.

The Congress have been very much opposed to division of India but have recently on practical considerations passed a resolution demanding the division of the country. The question here again was not a desirability but of facing realities. There was no other course but for the Punjab to be divided—and it will be divided. The same thing applies to Bengal.

It is unfortunate that there have been bloodshed during the past few months. It is our duty to end the bloodshed. I repeat that we have to advance in spite of them. They might block our progress but they cannot stop us altogether. But for these trifles we could have

devoted all our attention to vital questions like the removal of poverty

I welcome the declaration made by the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes last year urging the States to initiate popular reforms even though it did not come up to expectations. But even these limited reforms are not yet put into effect and the declaration remains merely a paper declaration.

The Constituent Assembly is now engaged in framing a new constitution for a free India. Acceptance of Cabinet Mission's plan was—and still is a step in the right direction. Representatives of Indian States and the Muslim League have not yet participated in the Constituent Assembly. The League have not entered the Assembly despite frequent invitations. The door is still open for the League but I want to make it clear that the Assembly will go ahead with the task of framing a constitution despite everything.

Such constitution making was necessary even previously, but in the present context—after the British Government's announcement of the decision to quit India—it is all the more urgent. The Congress has made it clear that no part of India will be compelled to join the Union against its wishes and if any part of the country wants to remain out of it, it is welcome to do so, we on our part will then decide what sort of relations we shall have with them.

Rightly or wrongly some agreement has been arrived at between the Negotiating Committee of the Princes and the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly on the method of selecting the States representatives for the Assembly. I like to remind the audience that the Constituent Assembly is a part of the Cabinet Mission's plan and has to work within its limitations. I myself

wish it had been possible to work on an independent plan of our own. But the question is not what is desirable or desired but what is possible and practicable under the circumstances. It is not possible to ask Praja Mandal in the various States to send their own representatives to the Constituent Assembly as the Assembly itself is the creature of the British Plan and is bound by its limitations. One of the limitations is that States representatives are to come into the Assembly only through the door held by the Princes.

When the agreement is reached with the Princes Negotiating Committee it has been made clear that the final approval will have to come from the people of Indian States. It is true that certain things are accepted. Though we did not like them we accepted them only because we felt it would facilitate the entry of the States into the Constituent Assembly.

We were not satisfied with the method of selecting States representatives but we had to concede certain points because we knew that if the States join Assembly the work would be finished more easily. I commend you to accept the agreement arrived at between the Negotiating Committees.

All the Princes do not belong to the same category. There are some who have done the right thing and declared their willingness to come into the Constituent Assembly. They deserve to be congratulated. Others are moving slowly putting obstacles in every possible way. They are finding all manner of excuses and demanding all sorts of terms and conditions before entering the Assembly. I deplore this 'shop-keeper's mentality'. A bargaining spirit will not do good to the Princes. It is a very short sighted policy which will result in creating enmity between them and the rest of India. All those

who do not join the Constituent Assembly now would be regarded as hostile States and they will have to bear the consequences of being so regarded. Our aim at present is to liberate as much of India as we can half-or three-fourths and then to deal with the question of independence for the rest. India's march towards freedom would brook no more obstruction. I know we have had to make a lot of concessions. But sometimes one has to pay a high price in the interest of the country's larger interest.

It is the duty of the Praja Mandals to demand the setting up of Constituent Assemblies in their respective States to frame their own constitutions.

The political Department has succeeded in misleading a number of States. As a member of the Interim Government I want to make it clear that the Interim Government is unaware of the activities of the Political Department. Officials of the Political Department act secretly and mysteriously.

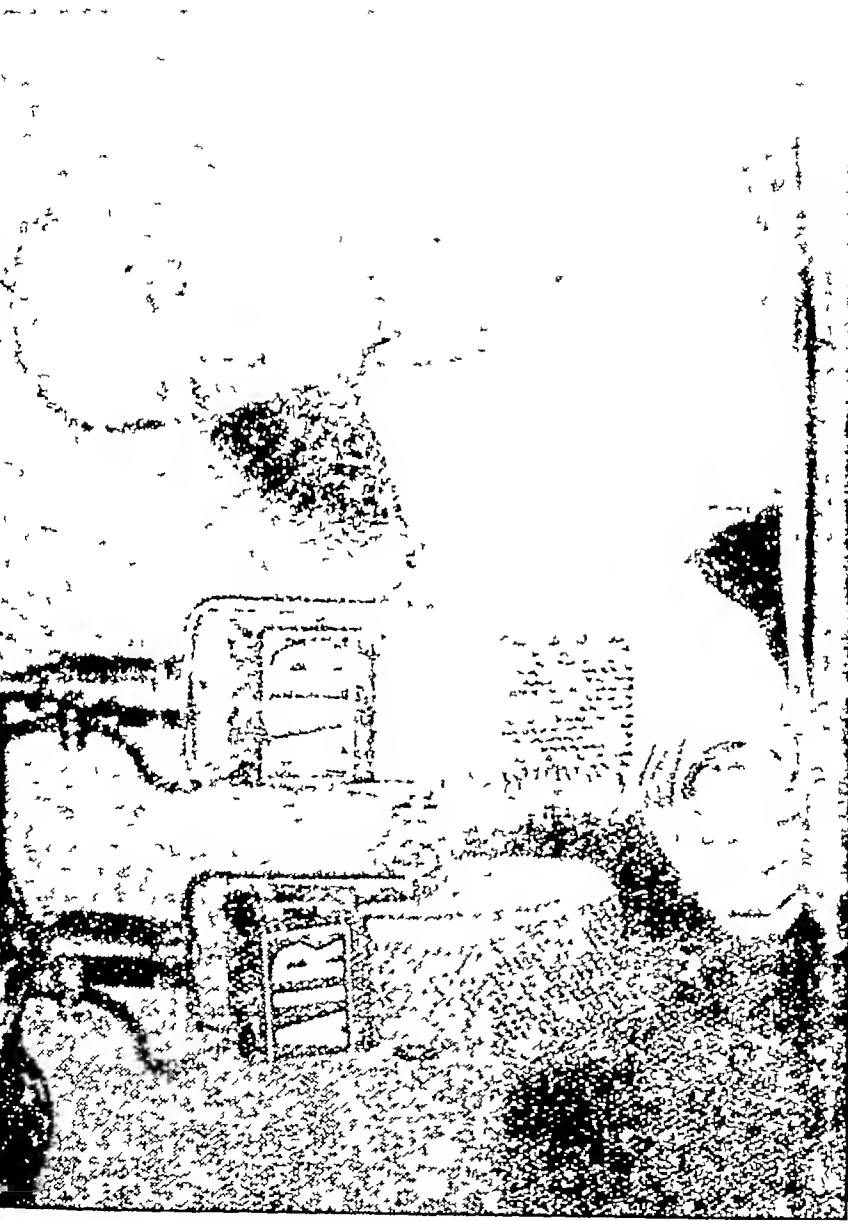
QUIT INDIA PLAN

[Following is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Radio broadcast from the A I R New Delhi on June 3 1947 accepting the British Government Quit India Plan as declared by Viceroy Lord Mountbatten on the same evening]

Friends and Comrades nearly nine months ago soon after my assumption of office I spoke to you from this place I told you then that we are on the march and the goal had still to be reached There were many difficulties and obstacles on the way and our journey's end might not be near for that end was not the assumption of office in Government of India but the achievement of full independence of India and the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth in which all will be equal sharers in opportunity and in all things that give meaning and value to life

Nine months have passed months of sore trial and difficulty of anxiety and sometimes even of heart break yet looking back at this period with its suffering and sorrow for our people there is much on the credit side also for India has advanced nationally and internationally and is respected to-day in the councils of the world.

In the domestic sphere something substantial has been achieved though the burden on the common man still continues to be terribly heavy and millions lack food and cloth and other necessities of life Many vast schemes of development are nearly ready and yet it is true that most of our dreams about the bare things we are ~~going~~ to accomplish have still to be realised



Pandit Nehru's broadcast on June 3, 1947, in accepting the Mountbatten Plan

You know well the difficulties which the country has had to face, economic, political and communal. These months have been full of tragedy for millions and the burden on those who have the governance of the country in their hands has been great indeed. My mind is heavy with the thought of the sufferings of our people in the areas of disturbance—the thousands who are dead and those, especially our womenfolk, who have suffered agony worse than death. To their families and to the innumerable people who had been uprooted from their homes and rendered destitute I offer my deep sympathy and assurance that we shall do all in our power to bring relief. We must see to it that such tragedies do not happen again.

At no time have we lost faith in the great destiny of India which takes shape even though with travail and suffering. My great regret has been that during this period owing to excess of work, I have been unable to visit the numerous towns and villages of India as I used to do, to meet my people and to learn about their troubles at first-hand.

To-day I am speaking to you on another historic occasion when a vital change affecting the future of India is proposed.

You have just heard an announcement on behalf of the British Government. This announcement lays down a procedure for self-determination in certain areas of India. It envisages on the one hand the possibility of these areas seceding from India, on the other it promises a big advance towards complete independence. Such a big change must have the full concurrence of the people before effect can be given to it for it must always be remembered that the future of India can only be decided by the people of India, and not by any outside authority however friendly.

These proposals will be placed soon before representative assemblies of the people for consideration. But meanwhile the sands of time run out and decisions cannot await the normal course of events. So while we must necessarily abide by what the people finally decide we have to come to certain decisions ourselves and to recommend them to the people for acceptance. We have therefore decided to accept these proposals and to recommend to our larger committees that they do likewise. It is with no joy in my heart that I commend these proposals to you though I have no doubt in my mind that it is the right course. For generations we have dreamt and struggled for a free and independent united India. The proposal to allow certain parts to secede if they so will is painful for any of us to contemplate. Nevertheless I am convinced that our present decision is the right one even from larger view point. The united India that we have laboured for was not one of compulsion and of coercion but a free and willing association of a free people. It may be that in this way we will reach that united India sooner than otherwise and that she will have a stronger and more secure foundation.

We little men are serving a great cause but because the cause is great something of that greatness falls upon us also.

Mighty forces are at work in the world to-day and in India and I have no doubt that we are ushering in a period of greatness for India. The India of geography of history and tradition the India of our mind and heart cannot change. On this historic occasion each one of us must pray that he might be granted the right in the services of his motherland and humanity at large.

We stand on a watershed dividing the past from the future. Let us bury the past in so far as it is bad and

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forget all bitterness and recriminations, let there be moderation in speech and in writings let there be strength and perseverance in adherence to the cause and the ideals we have at heart Let us face the future not with easy optimism or any complacency or weakness but with confidence and firm faith in India

There has been violence, shameful, degrading and revolting violence in various parts of the country These must end We are determined to end it We must make it clear that political ends are not to be achieved by methods of violence now or in the future

On the eve of a great change in India we have to make a fresh start with clear vision and firm mind, with steadfastness, tolerance and a stout heart We should not wish ill of anyone and look upon every Indian as our brother and comrade and the good of four hundred millions of Indians should be our supreme objective We shall seek to build anew our relationship with Britain on a friendly and co-operative basis forgetting the past which has lain so heavily on us

I should like to express on this occasion my deep appreciation on the labours of the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, since his arrival here at a critical juncture in our history

Inevitably on every occasion of crisis and difficulty we think of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi who has led us unfalteringly for over a generation through darkness and sorrows and trials to the threshold of freedom To him we once again pay our homage and we are happy to feel that his blessings and wise counsel will be with us in the momentous years to come as always With a firm faith in our future I appeal to you to co-operate with us in the great task ahead and march together to the haven of freedom for all in India 'Jai Hind'

PARTITION PROPOSAL

[In the following speech delivered on June 15 1947 at the L I C C I and Jt Jawaharlal Nehru explains why they are for acceptance of the latest British plan as declared by Viceroy Lord Louis Mountbatten although with extreme bitterness to the partition proposal]

Friends and Comrades Jai Hind The horrible riots in the Punjab Bengal and elsewhere were no isolated riots. They were planned attacks. It seemed the administration had broken down and there was no authority left in the country to enforce order.

How is it that the British officers who coped with the civil disobedience movements in the past were unable to cope with the present disturbances? Where there are Congress Ministries disturbances were brought under control but where the British exercised authority there was chaos. In the Punjab where there was cent per cent British rule despite the efforts of certain senior officers murder and arson continued. The trouble was prevalent the most where there were British officers in charge and division under the control of either Hindu or Muslim officers was comparatively quiet. The Interim Government was able to do nothing to protect the people.

Now it will be futile controversy to go into the merits of Dominion Status versus Independence. The most important task at present is to arrest the drift to anarchy and bloodshed. Disruptive forces are at work and the

most important disruptive force is that of the Muslim League. Our first task should be the establishment of a strong Central Government to rule the country firmly and to assure individual's liberty of life and all other questions are of secondary importance.

There is no question of my surrender to the Muslim League and that what myself and my colleagues have agreed to is that the issue of partition should be referred to the people for a verdict. There is nothing novel in the plan for partition. The House will remember Rajaji's formula on the basis of which Mahatma Gandhi carried on negotiations with Mr. Jinnah. At that time we were in Ahmednagar Fort. We discussed the question in prison. While we disagreed with the approach to the whole question, there was no disagreement on the fundamentals of the formula.

It must be realised that it is not possible to coerce even with swords unwilling parts to remain under the Indian domain. If they are forced to stay in the Union no progress and planning will be possible. They must take the warning from China. Continued internal strife and turmoil will bring progress of a nation to a standstill. In arriving at a decision they must look at the international context as well. The picture of the world today is one of destruction and improvement which by itself may prevent an immediate war but one can never say what will happen in the future.

The Congress cannot afford to act in an irresponsible manner by passing high-sounding resolutions. A responsible body must not think in terms of to-day only, but there is a to-morrow and a day after that. It will be ridiculous to suggest that the British would do everything before they quit. The June 3, statement could not have

come about had there been no agreement. It is not an imposed award. Circumstances were such that the Congress agreed to it. It is not like one of those old decisions of the British Government which they could accept or reject. The acceptance for which I am wholly responsible do not mean that I agree to every word in the statement but I agree with the fundamental principles therein.

The riots in Rawalpindi, Multan, Amritsar, Calcutta, Noakhali, Bihar and elsewhere presented the situation in a different light. To suggest that the Congress Working Committee took fright and therefore surrendered is wrong. But it is correct to say that they are very much disturbed at the prevailing madness. Homesteads burnt, women and children murdered and why I ask are all these tragic and brutal things happening?

We could have checked them by resorting to the rod and the lathi but would that solve the problem? Some people from the Punjab said that the Congress had left them down? What they wanted me to do? Should I send an army? I am sad and bitter and India's heart is broken. The wound must be healed. With whatever we are able to salvage we must plan out a programme on the basis of partition.

trative provinces. Partition is better than murder of innocent citizens. After the resolution was passed, the Committee received numerous complaints from Bengal that Bengal also should be divided. The underlying principle in the case of the Punjab and Bengal is one and the same. It is wrong to suggest that I and two others decided the fate of millions. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and other responsible organisations in the province strongly supported the partition proposal.

The next question that arose was, having divided the Punjab and Bengal has the Congress abandoned the Sikhs and the Hindus? An answer should be found. By high-sounding resolutions the Congress will not be able to help them. Even when the Punjab was one they were not able to help the people. An answer to this problem will no doubt be found. However, there is no reason why the minorities there should be tyrannised and persecuted. There may be individual cases of noting but there is not much room in future for organised attacks on the minorities. I have nothing much to say about Sind and so far as Sylhet is concerned, there is to be a referendum and I can not forecast the result. I am much worried about the N W F P. If Bengal and the Punjab went out, the Frontier would be isolated. The question is now the subject of consultation between the committee and the Frontier leaders. Governmental authority had almost collapsed. The British are no longer interested because they are leaving. This probably explains why some officers asked the victims who came to them for help to go to me or Sardar Patel for help. They are not desirous of shouldering any further responsibility and many have become callous.

Any controversy over the question of dominion status versus independence is meaningless I said. What the

Congress demanded was that the Government should function as a dominion Government and conventions must be established. The acceptance of dominion status is without prejudice to the Republic resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly. But the composition of the present Government is such that no agreement can work and no convention can be established and the Viceroy therefore suggested the June 3 statement and the Congress accepted it.

All talk of Paki tan and Hindusthan is due to a misunderstanding. Both from practical and legal point of view India as an entity continue to exist except that certain provinces and parts of certain provinces now seek to secede. The seceding areas are free to have any relations they like with foreign Powers. The Government of India is intact and there should be no further confusion of Hindusthan and Paki tan and people should not allow such ideas to grow.

The present perhaps is the most difficult period full of trials and tribulations. To-day we have to shoulder responsibility. The first thing we have to do is to establish the independence of India firmly and set up a strong Central Government. Having established a strong and stable Government all other programmes will not create much difficulty. The Congress has a heavy responsibility. You must bend all your energies to strengthen the Central Government. We have to face danger both external and internal and if we are not strong we will be defeated.

STATES AND BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY

[Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered the following speech on Indian States and British paramountcy on June 15, 1947 at the A I C C meeting held at New Delhi]

Friends and Comrades, there is a great deal of talk about independence and paramountcy etc. Independence does not depend on a mere declaration by anybody but on various factors—Foreign relations, Defence, etc. It fundamentally depends on the acknowledgement by other parties of that independence.

The paramountcy of the British crown arose in India under certain circumstances. I need not go into the history of it but it depends on geography, on history and all manner on factors like Defence, Security etc. If that paramountcy of the British Crown is withdrawn, as they say it is going to be withdrawn what follows?

So far as we are concerned, we do not agree with the doctrine of paramountcy as it has been declared, some especially during the last dozen years, by the British Government. You will remember that this business of a crown representative came into existence only a dozen years ago. Paramountcy has been exercised ever since the British became a leading power in India, first by the East India Company and then later by the Government of India that succeeded it. No doubt the crown was behind it. There was no division in the Government of India as between that part which dealt with the Indian States and that part which dealt with the rest. The whole of the Government of India dealt with the Indian States. The distinction came in only a dozen years ago with the Act of 1935.

When there was some talk of a Federation in India the Bntler Committee and others begin to talk of paramountcy vesting in the Crown so that it is a new thing. We did not agree with that but I am not going into that question now.

As paramountcy may vest in the British Crown the British Crown ceases to exercise it—it lapses—or if you like it returns to the States. But there is a certain inherent paramountcy in the Government of India which cannot lapse—an inherent paramountcy in the Dominant State in India which must remain because of the very reasons of Geography, History, Defence, etc. which gave rise to it when the British became the Dominant power in India. If anybody thinks that it lapses then those very persons will give rise to it again.

It must exist or the only alternative to it is that the various states in India should in groups or otherwise join the Federation or the Indian Union. Then of course there is no question of paramountcy because presumably they join as autonomous and equal units in that Union and they share equally in the Union Legislature and the Union Executive. Presuming of course that those units are proper units. Economic units, big enough units of the Federation, they have the same position in the Federation as any other unit like a province. Probably in the independent Indian Union there will be no distinction between a province as such and an Indian State as such but all will be States of the Union or whatever name may be given to them so that over all those who are equal members of the Union no question of paramountcy arises.

For those who do not join the question of paramountcy inevitably arises because they cannot live in a void. In the declaration of May 1947 it was clearly laid down that

the Indian Union would consist of the Provinces and the States. It was not envisaged that any State could remain outside the Union, though it is true that a state was given a certain power, if you like a certain freedom, to decide how to come in. But it was not envisaged that it could keep out ultimately. In the memorandum of May Twelve it was stated clearly that the States should either join the Indian Union—that was the primary thing or, if they did not do so, they must come to some other arrangement with the Union. There is no third way out of the situation, third way meaning independence or special relation with a Foreign power.

If a State do not join the Union, its relationship with the Union and there will have to be some relationship will be not one of equality but slightly lower. The relationship between the two will be that of a certain suzerain power exercising a certain measure of paramountcy and a certain other State having autonomy but within the limitations of paramountcy and suzerainty.

We desire no suzerainty or paramountcy. We want freedom for all the people of India but it may be that for a particular period, the Interim period before other arrangements can be made and before some of the States can come into the Union. We may carry on negotiations with them on a more or less standstill basis, all the existing arrangements continuing, because if the arrangements do not continue, then there is chaos. Of course they will not continue if the States themselves take up any aggressive attitude going beyond those arrangements.

The other arrangements cannot possibly admit of the right of a State to any foreign contacts with any Foreign State or, in regard to the right of any Independent Authority to do what it would. All that is not because we wish to

interfere with the States of course we wish with the people of the States well—but for another fundamental reason that these matters affect the security of India. And we cannot permit anything to happen in India in any State which affects fundamentally the security of India either in relation to defence arrangements or in relation to contacts with Foreign Powers. Therefore I want this not only to be realised by the States but I want other countries and powers to realise and appreciate the situation.

I do not and cannot speak with the Authority of Government at the present moment on this subject. Though I happen to be a member of Government I cannot represent that Government on this subject at present. I am quite sure that I do represent the view of the A. I. C. C. In this matter and if I have anything to do with the Government that is likely to come into existence two months hence and which will I have no doubt have the power and Authority to make this declaration. I should like to say and other countries to know that we will not recognise any independence of any State in India. Further that any recognition of any such independence by any foreign power whichever it may be and wherever it may be will be considered an unfriendly act.

The considerations of security and other which the Indian Union must have in every State in India cannot be overridden by any unilateral declaration of a State and therefore any foreign power which takes an action on the basis of that unilateral declaration will be ignoring our special interests and doing an unfriendly act to it. I am quite sure that any Government of India that comes into existence two months later will feel that way and will act that way.

THE FLAG OF FREE INDIA

[Amid loud and enthusiastic cheers and cries of 'Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai' Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presented to the Constituent Assembly the Flag of Free India on July 22, 1947. Moving the resolution for adoption of the new flag, which was accepted unanimously including the Muslim League members Panditji delivered the following speech]

Mr President, it is my proud privilege to move the following resolution —

“Resolved that the National Flag of India shall be a horizontal tricolour of deep Saffron (Kesari), white and dark green in equal proportion. In the centre of the white band, there shall be a Wheel in navy blue to represent the *Charkha*. The design of the Wheel shall be that of the Wheel (Chakra) which appears on the abacus of the Sarnath Lion Capital of Asoka.

The diameter of the Wheel shall approximate to the width of the white band.

The ratio of the width to the length of the Flag shall ordinarily be $\frac{2}{3}$ ”

This resolution, Sir, is in simple language, in a slightly technical language, and there is no glow or warmth in the words that I have read. Yet I am sure that many in this House will feel that glow and warmth which I feel at the present moment. For behind this resolution and the flag which I have the honour to present to this House for

adoption lies history—the concentrated history of a short span in a nation's existence. Nevertheless sometimes in a brief period we pass through the track of centuries. It is not so much the mere act of living that counts but what one does in this brief life that is ours—it is not so much the mere existence of a nation that counts but what that nation does during the various periods of its existence—and I do venture to claim that in the past quarter of a century or so India has lived and acted in a concentrated way and the emotions which have filled the people of India represent not merely a brief spell of years but something infinitely more. They have gone down into history and tradition and have added themselves on to that vast history and tradition which is our heritage in this country. So when I move this resolution I think of this concentrated history through which all of us have passed during the last quarter of a century. Memories crowd in upon me. I remember the ups and downs of the great struggle for freedom of this great nation. I remember and many in this House will remember how we looked up to this flag not only with pride and enthusiasm but with a tingling in our veins—also how when we were sometimes down and out then again the sight of this flag gave us courage to go on. Then many who are not present here today many of our comrades who have passed held on to this flag—some amongst them even unto death and hauled it over a they sank to other to hold it aloft.

So in this simple form of words there is much more than will be clear on the surface. There is the struggle of the people for freedom with all its ups and downs and trial and disaster—and there is finally today as I move this Resolution a certain triumph about it—a measure of triumph in the conclusion of that struggle.

Now, I realise fully, as this House must realise, that this triumph of ours has been marred in many ways. There have been, especially in the past few months, many happenings which cause us sorrow, which has gripped our hearts. We have seen parts of this dear motherland of ours cut off from the rest. We have seen large numbers of people suffering tremendously, large numbers wandering about like waifs and strays, without a home. We have seen many other things which I need not repeat to this House, but which we cannot forget. All this sorrow has dogged our foot-steps. Even when we have achieved victory and triumph, it still dogs us and we have tremendous problems to face in the present and in the future. Nevertheless it is true I think—I hold it to be true—that this moment does represent a triumph and a victorious conclusion of all our struggles for the moment.

There has been a very great deal of bewailing and moaning about various things that have happened. I am sad, all of us are sad at heart because of those things. But let us distinguish that from the other fact of triumph, because there is triumph in victory, in what has happened. It is no small thing that that great and mighty empire which has represented imperialist domination in this country has decided to end its days here. That was the objective we aimed at. We have attained that objective or we shall attain it very soon. Of that there is no doubt. We have not attained the objective exactly in the form in which we wanted it. The troubles and other things that accompanied our achievement are not to our liking. But we must remember that it is very seldom that people realise the dreams that they have dreamt. It is very seldom that the aims and objectives with which we start are achieved in their entirety in an individual's life or in a nation's life.

We have many examples before us. We need not go into the distant past. We have examples in the present or in the recent past. Some years back a great war was waged a world war bringing terrible misery to mankind. That war was meant for freedom and democracy said they. That war ended in the triumph of those who stood for freedom and democracy. Yet hardly had that war ended when there were rumours of fresh wars and fresh conflicts.

Three days ago this House and this country and the world was shocked by the brutal murder in a neighbouring country of the leaders of the nation. Today one reads in the papers of an attack by an imperialist power on a friendly country in South East Asia. Freedom is still far off in this world and Nations all Nations in greater or lesser degree are struggling for their freedom. If we in the present have not exactly achieved what we aimed at it is not surprising. There is nothing in it to be ashamed of. For I do think our achievement is no small achievement. It is a very considerable achievement a great achievement. Let no man run it down because other things have happened which are not to our liking. Let us keep those two things apart. Look at any country in the wide world. Where is the country today including the great and big powers which is not full of terrible problems which is not in some way politically and economically striving for freedom which somehow or other eludes its grasp. The problems of India in this wider context do not appear to be terrible. The problems are not anything new to us. We have faced many disagreeable things in the past. We have not held back. We shall face all the other disagreeable things that face us in the present or may do so in the future and we

shall not flinch and we shall not falter and we shall not quit

So, in spite of everything that surrounds us, it is in no spirit of downheartedness that I stand up in praise of this Nation for what it has achieved. It is right and proper that at this moment we should adopt the symbols of this achievement, the symbol of freedom. Now what is this freedom in its entirety and for all humanity? What is freedom and what is the struggle for freedom and when does it end? As soon as you take one step forward and achieve something, further steps come up before you. There will be no full freedom in this country or in the world till a single human being is un-free. There will be no complete freedom as long as there is starvation, hunger, lack of clothing, lack of the necessaries of life and lack of opportunity of growth for every single human being, man, woman and child in the country. We aim at that. We may not accomplish that because it is a terrific task. But we shall do our utmost to accomplish that and hope that our successors, when they come, may have an easier path to pursue. But there is no ending to that road to freedom. As we go ahead, just as we sometimes in our vanity aim at perfection, perfection never comes, but if we try hard enough we do approach the goal step by step. When we increase the happiness of the people, we increase their stature in many ways and we proceed to our goal. I do not know if there is an end to this or not, but we proceed towards some kind of consummation which in effect never ends.

So I represent this Flag to you. This Resolution which defines the Flag which I trust you will adopt. In a sense this Flag was adopted, not by a formal resolution, but by popular acclaim and usage, adopted much more by the sacrifice that surrounded it in the past few

decades. We are in a sense only ratifying that popular adoption. It is a flag which has been variously described. Some people, having misunderstood its significance, have thought of it in communal terms and believe that some part of it represents this community or that. But I may say that when this Flag was devised there was no communal significance attached to it. We thought of a design to a Flag which was beautiful because the symbol of a Nation must be beautiful to look at.

We thought of a flag which would in its combination and in its separate parts would somehow represent the spirit of the nation, the tradition of the nation, that mixed spirit and tradition which has grown up through thousands of years in India. So we devised this flag. Perhaps I am partial but I do think that it is a very beautiful flag to look at purely from the point of view of artistry, and it has come to symbolise many other beautiful things, things of the spirit, things of the mind that give value to the individual's life and to the nation's life, for a nation does not live merely by material things although they are highly important. It is important that we should have the good things of the world, the material possessions of the world, that our people should have the necessities of life. That is of the utmost importance. Nevertheless, a nation, and especially a nation like India with an immemorial past, lives by other things also, the thing of the spirit. If India had not been associated with the ideals and things of the spirit during these thousands of years, what would India have been? It has gone through a very great deal of misery and degradation in the past, but somehow even in the depths of degradation the heart of India has been high, the thought of India has been high and the ideal of India have been high. Some day, gone through the tremendous ages and we

stand up today in proud thankfulness for our past and even more so for the future that is to come for which we are going to work and for which our successors are going to work. It is our privilege of those assembled here, to mark the transition in a particular way, in a way that will be remembered by saying that it is my proud privilege to be ordered to move this resolution.

Now, Sir, may I say a few words about this particular flag. It will be seen that there is a slight variation from the one many of us have used during these past years. The colours are the same, a deep saffron, a white and a dark green. In the white previously there was the charkha which symbolised the common man in India, which symbolised the masses of the people, which symbolised their industry and which came to us from the message which Mahatma Gandhi delivered. Now, this particular charkha symbol has been slightly varied in this flag, not taken away at all. Why then has this varied? Normally speaking, the symbol on one side of the flag should be exactly the same as on the other side. Otherwise, there is a difficulty which goes against the rules. Now, the charkha, as it appeared previously on this flag, had the wheel on one side and the spindle on the other. If you see the other side of the flag, the spindle comes the other way and the wheel comes this way, or if it does not do so, it is not proportionate, because the wheel must be towards the pole, not towards the end of the flag. There was this practical difficulty. Therefore, after considerable thought we were of course convinced—that this great symbol which had enthused people should continue but that it should continue in a slightly different form, that the wheel should be there, not the rest of the charkha, that is the spindle and the string which created this con-

fusion that the essential part of the charkha should be there that is the wheel

So the old traditions continue in regard to the charkha and the wheel. But what type of wheel should we have? Our minds went back to many wheels but notably one famous wheel which had appeared in many places and which all of us have seen the one at the top of the Asoka column in the capital of the Asoka column and in many other places. That wheel is a symbol of India's ancient culture it is a symbol of the many things that India had stood for through the ages. So we thought that this chakra emblem should be there and that wheel appears. For my part I am exceedingly happy that in this sense indirectly we have associated with this flag of ours not only this emblem but in a sense the name of Asoka one of the most magnificent names not only in India's history but in world history. It is well that at this moment of strife conflict and intolerance our mind should go back towards what India stood for in the ancient days and what it has stood for. I hope and believe essentially throughout the ages in spite of mistakes and errors and degradations from time to time. For if India had not stood for something very great I do not think that India could have survived and carried on its cultural traditions in a more or less continuous manner through these vast ages. It carried on its cultural tradition not unchanging not rigid but always keeping its essence always adapting itself to new developments to new influences. That has been the tradition of India always to put out fresh blooms and flower always receptive to the good things that it receives sometimes receptive to bad things also but always true to her ancient culture.

All manner of new influences throughout the last few years have influenced us while we influenced them

tremendously also For you will remember that India has not been in the past a tight little narrow country, disdaining other countries India throughout the long ages of her history has been connected with other countries, not only connected with other countries, but has been an international centre, sending out her people abroad to far off countries, carrying her message and receiving the message of other countries in exchange, but India was strong enough to remain embedded on the foundations on which she was built, although changes, many changes, have taken place The strength of India, it has been said, consists in this strong foundation It consists also in its amazing capacity to receive, to adapt what it wants to adapt, not to reject because something is outside its scope, but to accept and receive everything It is folly for any nation or race to think that it can only give to and not receive from the rest of the world Once a nation or a race begins to think like that, it becomes rigid, it becomes ungrowing, it grows backwards and decays In fact if India's history can be traced, India's periods of decay are those when it closed herself up into a shell and refused to receive or to look at the outside world India's greatest periods are those when she stretched her hands to others in far off countries, sent her emissaries and ambassadors, her trade agents and merchants to these countries and received ambassadors and emissaries from abroad

Now, because I have mentioned the name of Asoka I should like you to think that the Asokan period in Indian history was essentially an international period of Indian history It was not a narrowly national period It was a period when India's ambassadors went abroad to far countries and went abroad not in the way of an

Empire and imperialism but as ambassadors of peace and culture and goodwill

Therefore this flag that I have the honour to present to you is not I hope and trust a flag of Empire a flag of Imperialism a flag of domination over anybody but a flag of freedom not only for ourselves but a symbol of freedom to all people who may see it And wherever it may go—and I hope it will go far not only where Indians dwell as our ambassadors and ministers but across the far seas where it may be carried by Indian ships Wherever it may go it will bring a message I hope of freedom to those people a message of comradeship a message that India wants to be friends with every country of the world and India wants to help any people who seek freedom That I hope will be the message of this flag everywhere and I hope that in the freedom that is coming to us we will not do what many other people or some other people have unfortunately done that is in a new found strength suddenly to expand and become imperialistic in design If that happened that would be a terrible ending to our struggle for freedom But there is that danger and therefore I venture to remind this House of it—although this House needs no reminder—there is this danger in a country suddenly unshackled in stretching out its arms and legs and trying to hit out at other people And if we do that we become just like other nations who seem to live in a kind of succession of conflicts and preparation for conflict That is the world today unfortunately

In some degree I have been responsible for the foreign policy during the past few months and always the question is asked here or elsewhere What is your foreign policy? To what group do you adhere to in this varying world? Right at the beginning I venture to say that

we propose to belong to no power group We propose to function as far as we can as peace-makers and peace-bringers because today we are not strong enough to be able to have our way But at any rate we propose to avoid all entanglements with power politics in the world It is not completely possible to do that in this complicated world of ours, but certainly we are going to do our utmost to that end

It is stated in this Resolution that the ratio of the width to the length of the flag shall ordinarily be 2 3" Now you will notice the word "ordinarily" There is no absolute standard about the ratio because the same flag on a particular occasion may have a certain ratio that might be more suitable or in any other occasion in another place the ratio might differ slightly So there is no compulsion about this ratio But generally speaking, the ratio of 2 3 is a proper ratio Sometimes the ratio 2 1 may be suitable for a flag flying on a building Whatever the ratio may be, the point is not so much the relative length and breadth, but the essential design

So, Sir, now I would present to you not only the Resolution but the flag itself

There are two of these National flags before you One is on silk, the one I am holding, and the other on the other side is of cotton Khadi

I beg to move this Resolution

FIFTEENTH OF AUGUST

[Addressing a Public meeting at New Delhi on August 9 1947 in celebration of the Liberty Week Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made the following remarks on the significance of 15th August]

Friends and Comrades Jai Hind

Fifteenth of August is a great day not only in the history of India or Asia but in that of the entire world

August is the definite and final end of an era of imperialism started by the British nearly 150 years ago. The form of exploitation practised first by the British and later adopted by other imperialist nations of Europe will terminate in principle to a large degree in practice also by the declaration of Indian independence.

India's freedom is linked with the freedom of a number of other countries. Exploitation of India gave an excuse to some foreign powers to dominate the weak nations of Asia. Some small countries are kept under British control because they happen to fall in the route from England to India. All these nations too will now gradually get out of the clutches of the imperialists.

India is here to play a significant role in international politics. The day it has raised its voice for the protection of Indonesia's liberty. Foreign armies have no business to stay on the soil of an Asian country. The doctrine expounded by President Monroe saved America from foreign aggression for nearly 100 years and now the time

has come when a similar doctrine must be expounded with respect to Asian countries

Charges of breaches of faith against each other have been levelled both by the Republicans and the Dutch Government. Without going to the merits of their individual cases I may say that I am opposed in principle to leave the armies of one country stay in another. This is basically wrong and once that is conceded, the Dutch has no case to put forth. Holland, which has failed to protect itself only a few years ago has no right to reinstate itself as an imperialist nation. The success of the Indonesians will depend on their own strength, but let me make it clear once and for all that we shall not tolerate foreign armies operating in Asian countries.

Our joy on the present occasion is mingled with sorrow. I am happy that the "Quit India" movement which started five years ago has terminated successfully. It is being said that the picture of the free India has not come as I hope it would. The British authority is departing, no doubt, but it is leaving in its wake problems of great magnitude. The division of India is a great shock to all those who have worked for a strong united India. But the Congress had to agree to it because there was no other alternative. I would not have minded so much if the country has been divided politically, but unfortunately division has taken place in the hearts of the peoples of India.

It was India's misfortune that during the last few years of its life some leaders had widely preached the gospel of hate and had incited innocent people to commit acts which brought nothing but degradation to India. This was serious because feelings of hatred and distrust cannot be overcome easily. Various reasons forced Congress to accept the division of India. Firstly, the

demand very urgent in nature came from Bengal and the Punjab. The state of affairs there was so serious that influential men from both the provinces urged them to accept or rather demand partition. Secondly, the Congress had to face the fact that certain section of the people did not want to remain with the rest of India. Unity is a good thing but it can not be achieved merely by resolutions. Men and Women must accept it too and the Congress realised that division was better than a Union of unwilling parts. They had a choice between two evils and the Congress accepted the lesser of the two.

The use of violence at this time to maintain Indian unity would have had disastrous results. A civil war would have checked the progress of India for a long time to come and problems before India were of such a serious nature that no delay could be tolerated.

I hope however that new relations will be established between the two divided parts of India and a better understanding will ultimately mitigate the evils of division.

During the last one year the people of India lost considerable prestige due to communal frenzy and they have now developed a narrow sectarian outlook. The Government have extensive plans before them for the development of the country but that narrow outlook prevents those plans from being put into practice.

Regarding demand for higher wages I may say that I am in favour of giving better wages to workers but before I can do that the national exchequer must have the money to pay those increased wages and salaries. The prime need of the country at this time is to increase its wealth by putting up production by all possible means.

—Jai Hind

THE END

A NEW STAR RISES IN THE EAST

MESSAGE TO THE NATION, AUGUST 15, 1947

The Appointed Day has come—the day appointed by destiny, and India stands forth again after long slumber and struggle, awake, vital, free and independent. The past clings on to us still in some measure and we have to do much before we redeem the pledges we have so often taken. Yet the turning point is past, history begins anew for us, the history which we shall live and act and others will write about.

It is a fateful moment for us in India, for all Asia and for the world. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East, a new hope comes into being, a vision long cherished materialises. May the star never set and that hope never be betrayed!

We rejoice in that freedom, even though clouds surround us, and many of our people are sorrow-stricken and difficult problems encompass us. But freedom brings responsibilities and burdens and we have to face them in the spirit of a free and disciplined people.

On this day our first thoughts go to the Architect of this freedom, the Father of our Nation who, embodying the old spirit of India, held aloft the torch of freedom and lighted up the darkness that surrounded us. We have often been unworthy followers of his and have strayed from his message, but not only we but succeeding generations will remember this message and bear the imprint in their hearts of this great son of India, magnificent in his faith and strength and courage and humility. We shall never allow that torch of freedom to be blown out, however high the wind or stormy the tempest.

Our next thoughts must be of the unknown volunteers and soldiers of freedom who without praise or reward have served India even unto death

We think also of our brothers and sisters who have been cut off from us by political boundaries and who unhappily cannot share at present in the freedom that has come. They are of us and will remain of us whatever may happen and we shall be sharers in their good and ill fortune alike

The future beckons to us. Whither do we go and what shall be our endeavour? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man to the peasants and workers of India. To fight and end poverty and ignorance and disease. To build up a prosperous democratic and progressive nation and to create social economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman.

We have hard work ahead. There is no resting for any one of us till we redeem our pledge in full till we make all the people of India what destiny intended them to be. We are citizens of a great country on the verge of bold advance and we have to live up to that high standard. All of us to whatever religion we may belong are equally the children of India with equal rights, privileges and obligations. We cannot encourage communalism or narrow mindedness for no nation can be great whose people are narrow in thought or in action.

To the nations and peoples of the world we send greetings and pledge ourselves to cooperate with them in furthering peace freedom and democracy.

And to India our much loved motherland the ancient the eternal and the ever new we pay our reverent homage and we bind ourselves afresh to her service —
Jai Hind

